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MOST REV. PATRICK JOHN RYAN, D. D.

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Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum veritas
vincat invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive confitentem.

S. AUG. EPIST. ccxxxviii. AD PASCENT.

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KUBLAI KHAN: OR, THE POPES AND THE TARTARS.

FROM the nineteenth century back to the thirteenth is decidedly a long leap to take, covering a distance of six hundred years. In the eyes of many of us, in these latter days of enlightenment, it is a step backwards from an age of progress and refinement to a time of darkness, ignorance and barbarism. Many, even amongst Catholics, carried away by history falsely so-called, consider the thirteenth century as suffering from an effete ecclesiasticism, and lacking that vigor, civilizing energy and spirit of advancement which are said to characterize our own glorious times. For the benefit of all such persons, as well as for our own consolation and encouragement, and in the interests of truth and justice, we propose to give a brief, though necessarily very superficial, sketch of the remarkable reign of a Tartar chief of the thirteenth century, and of his relations with the Popes who reigned successively during his own long occupation of the imperial throne in his vast Asiatic empire.

We have all heard, in a general way, of the Tartar hordes of Asia, and have a somewhat vague idea of their savagery and cruelty towards any who dared to oppose their progress or to dispute their despotic sway. These strange people may be said to have reached the zenith of their power and the utmost extent of their conquests during Kublai Khan's long reign of thirty-five years. They will, therefore, be seen at their best, and in all the flush of triumph during that period.

On the other hand, the Papal power was then recognized amongst Christians as supreme in Western Christendom, and in the Second

Council of Lyons it was again acknowledged by the Greek Christians of the Orient, thus reuniting all Christendom under one central authority as a grand Christian Commonwealth. This Commonwealth was threatened on one side by the Saracens, under the sway of Mahometanism; on the other by the Tartars, composed of a strange medley of all religions or of none.

Kublai Khan, or Chi Tsou, as he is called in China, was born in the year 1216 of the Christian era. In the year 1251 Mangu Khan, whose father was the fourth son of the great Genghis Khan, was proclaimed Grand Khan, or Emperor, of all the Tartars. He gave the general command of Oriental Tartary and of those provinces of China which were already conquered by the Tartars to Kublai, who was his brother; the territory from the river Gihon, or Oxus, to China he entrusted to another chieftain named Ilwadi and a son of the latter named Massoud, and to Argoun Aga he gave command of Khorasan, Hindostan, Persia and all the provinces which the Tartars had already wrested from the grasp of the Mahometans, extending to Syria and Asia Minor. This distribution of territory gives us some insight into the vast extent of the Tartar Empire at this time. We shall find it still further extended under the approaching reign of Kublai Khan. In the same year Mangu Khan sent a general named Holotai to subjugate Thibet. This country was devastated with fire and sword, and its cities and strongholds were razed to the ground.

In 1253 the King of Armenia, whose people had just been reconciled to the Holy See, came to Mangu's court and acknowledged the latter's suzerainty over his kingdom, securing for the churches of Armenia exemption from taxation by the Tartars. Whilst at the Tartar court the Armenian King submitted certain plans for conquering various countries and especially the Mahometans. Mangu Khan was generally reported to be himself a Christian, but the truth of this report could never be definitely ascertained. But, however this may be, he entered zealously into the enterprise of subjugating or exterminating the Mahometans, and, in pursuance of this purpose, he decided to organize simultaneously three great armies: one to be sent against Corea, another into Hindostan by way of Cashmere and the third against the Ismaelians or Assassins of Persia and the Caliph of Bagdad. We will confine ourselves chiefly to the fortunes of the Great Khan's brother, Kublai.

Having, as stated, been named by his brother as Governor of the eastern portion of the immense Tartar Empire, Kublai entered Northern China, penetrated into the province of Tse Chuen, subjugated the kingdom of Tali in the province of Yun Nan and com-

pleted the conquest of Thibet. Having successfully accomplished this Herculean task, he now set himself to the achievement of a far more difficult undertaking, namely, the civilizing and refining of his own people, the Tartars or Mongols. He became imbued with a great desire to arouse and cultivate in them a taste for the sciences and, as we shall see presently, to turn their minds to literature and commerce. In this undertaking he had almost insuperable obstacles to overcome. Up to this time these hordes had merely made transitory and predatory incursions into China. Lack of subsistence and scarcity of military strongholds rendered their existence there still precarious. With characteristic energy and foresight the great general set himself to work to overcome these immense difficulties in the way of accomplishing his noble scheme.

This would seem to have been in line with the policy of Mangu Khan, Kublai's superior, who sought to consolidate his conquests in China and to attach the conquered people to himself. With this object in view, Mangu had caused large stores of provisions to be established in the conquered territory and rebuilt several of their cities which had been destroyed during the war of conquest. He had forbidden his troops to ravage the country, paid damages for the devastations which had already been committed and pushed his severity so far as to punish with death some of his higher officers who had transgressed his orders in this respect, and chastised one of his own sons who had crossed over some cultivated fields. Meanwhile he became impatient for the completion of the conquest of China, and, after regulating his affairs at home, he set out for that country in person. Having heard certain reports which made him suspicious of his brother Kublai, who had made himself loved and respected by the Chinese, he deposed him from the Governorship. Acting on the wise counsel of his Minister, Kublai came to meet his brother alone and without protection, cast himself at his feet and offered him his wives, his children, all his possessions, and his life itself. Mangu was moved to tears by this scene, raised up his brother and embraced him weeping, restored to him his entire confidence and instructed him to go forth with a yet stronger army to make further conquests. Not long afterwards, as Mangu was himself advancing with three army corps, he was killed in an assault upon a city on the 10th of August, 1259, at the age of fifty-two and in the ninth year of his reign.

In the following year, 1260, Kublai was solemnly proclaimed Emperor in a general assembly of the Tartars, thus succeeding his brother in the highest office at the disposal of his people. Mangu had founded in 1256 the new city of Kai-ping-fou, peopled with

Chinese and Tartars or Mongols, which was nearer to China and more conveniently situated for holding the general assemblies and for hunting and fishing.

The Tartars were now masters of Pekin, which they had conquered from the King dynasty—other Eastern Tartars whom the Mantchus of the present day acknowledge as their ancestors. These people had already driven the Song dynasty across the Kiang or Blue river, where they had now taken refuge. Kublai, far from yielding to a natural ambition to conquer the remainder of China, of which he already ruled more than one-half, made peace proposals to these people, who had established their court at Nankin. But, after several ineffectual attempts to induce them to acknowledge his suzerainty by the payment of a light tribute, one of his ambassadors having been imprisoned and another assassinated, he finally resolved upon the destruction of the Song dynasty and the conquest of all China.

In 1267 his generals crossed the Kiang river. The war that was thus begun lasted for twelve years, the Tartars constantly gaining ground and the Chinese resisting with a determination and valor that have won for them the highest encomiums from historians of that epoch. But finally their Emperor—a child of only seven years—and his mother, who was regent of the Empire, with the entire court, were captured and brought in triumph to Pekin, where Kublai treated them with all the honors and consideration due to their rank. Two brothers of the defeated Emperor, who had made their escape, held out for some time longer, but finally died miserable deaths. This brought to an end the Song dynasty, which historians tell us had governed China for 319 years under eighteen emperors, and had been celebrated for its protection of and taste for the arts and sciences.

Kublai was now master of all China. He took the name of Chi Tsou, and, like Alexander of old, began to seek for new territory to conquer. He first turned his attention to Japan. He prepared a fleet to transport thither one hundred thousand men. His fleet became the sport of the winds and waves, and its remnants were set upon by the men of the Japanese fleet, who massacred or took prisoners a prodigious number of Mongols and Chinese. Kublai seems never to have renewed his efforts in that direction. His generals brought under his dominion the kingdom of Pegu, and his fleets sought out and subjugated ten islands in the seas south of China, which were dignified with the title of kingdoms and amongst which was the large island of Sumatra.

As a result of all these conquests Kublai now found himself the

direct ruler of China and Chinese Tartary, Pegu, Thibet, Tong King and Cochin China. Other kingdoms to the west and south of China and Leaotong and Corea to the north furnished tribute and troops. Furthermore, all the members of his family who reigned in Persia, Assyria, Turkestan, Great and Little Tartary, from the Dnieper to the Sea of Japan, and from the Indies to the frozen sea in the North, were his lieutenants and vassals and paid him annual tribute as the Emperor of the Mongols. A glance at the map will help us to form some adequate idea of this immense empire. No prince in history ever ruled over so vast a monarchy or governed so large a population. His empire exceeded in extent that of Alexander, of Rome, or of Genghis Khan himself.

But still more wonderful is the use that Kublai seems to have made of this great power. He resumed his design of civilizing and advancing his people. His generals had sold thirty thousand captives into slavery. He ransomed them. He devoted himself to the books of the Chinese, drawing thence wise maxims of government. He welcomed the learned, regardless of nationality or religion. He adopted the manners of the Chinese, which he found far superior to the barbarism and rough manners of his own people. Chinese historians speak disparagingly of him, but the historians of his own people sound his praises without stint.

He desired that the learned and men of science should be exempt from taxes and subsidies, and bestowed special honors upon them. He established the college of the Hanlin, the first literary tribunal of China. He spread abroad a taste for mathematics and encouraged the development of a new astronomy which was very superior to the system then in vogue amongst the Chinese. He established public schools in the principal cities of the Empire, and caused to be translated for the use and instruction of the public all the good Chinese books and a quantity of foreign works of India, Persia and Thibet.

He gave similar encouragement to agriculture. Two hundred Niutches or Oriental Tartars came to offer him the fish of their country. Fishing was their only occupation. He received them with kindness, but urged them to cultivate the soil, allotted lands to them and supplied them with oxen and all the necessary agricultural implements. He further ordered a commission to return with them to their own country and to furnish the same assistance to their fellow-countrymen.

Manufactures and commerce received from him a like patronage. Canals were dug in all the provinces. A multitude of vessels and sailing craft issued from the dockyards. He opened his ports to

foreigners and established free trade, and merchants from Arabia, Persia and India carried on in the ports of Fo-Kien an extensive commerce with all China. And finally Kublai crowned all these great benefits by establishing for the Chinese a new code of laws far more humane and wise than they had been subjected to under other Tartars who had governed them.

Let us now look into the condition of Christianity amongst these people and study for a few moments the relations existing between these Tartar chiefs and the Holy See. The territory assigned by Mangu in 1251 to Ilwadi for conquest was intended eventually for his other brother, Hublagu, also, of course, a brother of Kublai. Hulagu's principal wife was a granddaughter of Wang Khan, more commonly known in Europe as Prester John. Better still, she was herself a Christian. Under her husband Hulagu the Christians enjoyed great consideration at court; their churches and monasteries were exempt from tribute or taxes, and they even had chapels and oratories in the camps of the Mongol prince. This prince annihilated the Assassins of Persia, sparing neither age nor sex. He in like manner destroyed the caliphate of Bagdad, sparing no one, his soldiers being gorged with blood and committing the most horrible atrocities in the conquered city. Thus perished on February 10, 1258, the last of the successors of Mahomet, six hundred and fifty-six years after this false prophet had begun his great seduction. About the year 1263 Hulagu received a new patent of investiture from his brother Kublai, who had succeeded Mangu as Grand Khan of all the Tartars. In 1264 he held a general assembly at Tauris, at which were present the Mongol princes and generals and many Musselman and Christian princes—the two Davids, Kings of Georgia; Haton, King of Armenia; Bohemond VI., prince of Antioch, who was under the domination of the Mongols, and a large number of Georgian and Armenian princes. Hulagu died at the age of forty-eight years, in the month of January, 1265. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Abaka, who figures conspicuously in subsequent dealings with the Holy See. At the time of Hulagu's death, the natural daughter of Michael Paleologus, the Greek Emperor, was on her way to become his bride. The Tartars compelled her to remain and Abaka the son took her to wife.

The Tartars were now threatening Europe itself. Poland and Hungary seemed about to fall victims to their conquering spirit. Pope Alexander IV. wrote to the Christian princes and prelates urging a crusade against these hordes. Urban IV. urged on the same crusade in defense of Hungary and all Europe. Clement IV. pursued the same course. Preparations were begun for holding

an oecumenical council to bring about a reunion with the Greeks, to press forward the crusade and, amongst other things, to protect Europe from the incursions of the Tartars who were threatening her borders.

During this time two Venetian merchants, the Polo brothers, had arrived in the dominions of Kublai. They were well received by the Emperor himself and resided in his dominions for seventeen years. Here we find the strange fact recorded in history that this great monarch, with the advice of his princes, selected these Venetian merchants and a lord of the Chinese Empire named Gogak to be sent on a special embassy to Clement IV., with instructions to ask that Pontiff to send to Kublai one hundred men learned and well instructed in the Christian religion, who could demonstrate that the faith of the Christians was to be preferred to all the diverse sects, that it is the only way of salvation and that the gods of the Tartars were demons who imposed upon the Orientals. For the Emperor, having heard much said of the Catholic faith, but seeing with what boldness the learned men of Tartary and China upheld their belief, knew not to which side to lean, nor which path to embrace as the true one. He requested, moreover, the ambassadors to bring back to him a little of the oil from the lamp that burned at Jerusalem before the Lord, persuaded that it would be not a little useful to him if Christ was the Saviour of the world.

After three years spent in the journey, the Tartar lord having remained on the way on account of illness, the other two ambassadors arrived at St. John d'Acre. Clement IV. having died meanwhile, they applied to Theobald, Archdeacon of Liege, who was then Apostolic Internuncio in Palestine. Acting upon his advice to await the election of a new Pope, they returned to Venice, their native city, where they waited for two years more, and then returned to St. John d'Acre, to Theobald the Archdeacon, who gave them letters for the Emperor, together with an exposition of the Christian faith.

Thus armed they set out upon their return to Kublai, but were immediately recalled with the information that Archdeacon Theobald had just been elected Pope under the title of Gregory X. The new Pope gave them other letters for the Emperor of the Tartars, and also added to their number two friars preachers, Nicholas and William Tripoli. The friars had instructions to enlighten the Tartars as to the truth of the Gospel. Marco Polo, son of one of the Polo brothers, states that their embassy was received with extreme benevolence by the Emperor, to whom they presented the Pope's letters and also the oil from the lamp of the Holy Sepulchre, which he caused to be kept in an honorable place.

One of the earliest acts of Gregory X. upon his arrival in Rome was to issue a circular letter convoking an oecumenical council, to be held in the city of Lyons, in France. The Holy Father arranged the objects of this council under three general heads, viz.: the Greek schism, the evil condition of the Holy Land, of which he himself had been an eye witness, and the vices and errors that were multiplying within the true fold.

The first session of the Second Council of Lyons was held on May 7, 1274. Between the third and fourth sessions our old acquaintances the Tartars again appeared upon the scene. It had been said of them by an eminent writer shortly before the opening of the council that they now persecuted only Hungary of all the Christian nations, and that they were aiding the Christians against the Saracens. Prince Edward of England had been led to rely upon their assistance in the Holy Land, and his return to England was in part due to their failure to furnish the expected help.

But now, on July 4, 1274, sixteen ambassadors from the Tartar chief Abaka, great-grandson of Genghis Khan, arrived to attend the council. Gregory X., desiring to show them special honors, directed the attendants of the Cardinals and prelates to go forth to meet them, and they were thus conducted into the presence of the Pope and the Cardinals in an apartment where they had assembled to discuss the affairs of the council. This embassy was sent to urge the old project of an alliance with the Christians against the Mahometans. The Khan's letter was read to the council at its fourth session, and later the Pope replied that he would send legates into Tartary to treat with the Khan, not only concerning the propositions that he had submitted to the council, but also other matters affecting his welfare.

The fourth session of the council presented a striking spectacle. The Pope was seated on his throne on a raised tribune, attended by a Cardinal as assistant priest, one as deacon, four other Cardinal Deacons and several chaplains in surplices. Near the Pope, upon the same tribune, was seated James, King of Aragon. In the nave of the church, in the centre upon raised seats, were two Latin patriarchs, Pantaleon of Constantinople and Opizon of Antioch; beside them the Cardinal Bishops, amongst whom was St. Bonaventure, and on the other side the Cardinal priests; then came the primates, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors and other prelates in large numbers. Lower down were William, Master of the Hospital; Robert, Master of the Temple, with several brothers of their orders; the ambassadors of the Kings of France, Germany, England, Sicily and of several other princes. And last of all came the

deputies of the chapters and churches. This had been the regular order in all the sessions. But on this occasion the Greek ambassadors were placed to the right of the Pope, beyond the Cardinals, and facing him were the Tartars composing the embassy sent by Abaka.

Here we behold the whole earth represented at the States-General of Christendom; the Holy Father seated amongst the representatives of the Christian Commonwealth as arbitrator of all their differences and common father of all, regardless of color or nationality. In vain has our boasted nineteenth century sought to produce such a scene as this. In our day we behold the scattered and warring remnants of this once united republic seeking in vain for some common arbiter acceptable to all and trusted by all. A lame attempt at something of the sort was recently made in the peace congress at The Hague, but from its sessions was carefully excluded the only person who was ever successful as arbiter of the world, the venerated Bishop of Rome, representative on earth of the Prince of Peace! Could we have a more striking and startling illustration of our deterioration as a family of States supposed to be united in a common brotherhood since the days of the so-called Dark Ages?

Still another strikingly picturesque scene was to mark the period of this council. One of the Khan's ambassadors and two other Tartars, perhaps moved by this wonderful spectacle of Christian unity, embraced the true faith, and on the 16th of July, 1274, the day of the fifth session of the council, they were solemnly baptized by the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia in the presence of the assembled prelates. The Holy Father caused the newly converted Tartars to be clothed in scarlet, after the manner of the Latins. After the close of the council the Pope dismissed the Tartar ambassadors with letters for the Khan. The Protestant historian Sismondi tells us that there were present at this council five hundred bishops, seventy mitred abbots and a thousand other religious and theologians.

Rohrbacher thus alludes to this great council: "The Second General Council of Lyons offered a spectacle unknown to profane antiquity: a great and holy Pontiff presiding over the States-General of the Christian race, to sanctify it within and to defend it without; around him his counsellors, superiors of the princes, equals of the kings; at his feet before him, to the number of more than a thousand, the ambassadors, the deputies of emperors, kings and princes and of the churches of God. Franks, Burgundians, Huns, Vandals, Goths, Herules, Lombards, Sarmatians, English, Normans, Slavs, the Barbarians and Scythians of other times are seated at the

feet of the same father and Pontiff, with the descendants of the Gauls, Romans and Greeks as sheep and lambs reposing at the feet of the same shepherd; the Greeks come to abjure their spirit of division and to sing with all the world the same creed in the same words; the Tartars, masters of Asia, from Persia to China and Corea, are there represented by their ambassadors, one of whom by his example announces their future but distant conversion. . . . Before, during and after the council the holy Pope Gregory X. labors to reconcile amongst themselves peoples and kings in Italy, in Spain, in France, in Germany, and everywhere hearts yield themselves to his gentle firmness, and he himself prepares to conduct Europe in arms to the assistance of the Christians of the Orient and to await heaven in the Holy Land, but heaven claims him in Italy and much sooner."

But the relations of the Popes with the Tartars did not end with the death of this saintly Pontiff. His successor, John XXI., had also a great desire to liberate the Holy Land from the yoke of the infidels. To urge on this project he sent nuncios all over the world, amongst others to the great Khan of the Tartars. Several Popes were elected and died in rapid succession after Gregory X. One of these, Nicholas III., during a short reign of about two years and eight months, manifested a deep and fatherly interest in the peoples of Europe, the Greeks and even the Tartars. Honorius IV. also had special relations with them. Finally, Nicholas IV. continued the chain of friendly intercourse that had been fostered under each succeeding Pontiff. Let us note in their proper order a few of the most important of these events.

Soon after the Second Council of Lyons, Abaka, Khan of Persia, sent a second delegation to the Holy See. They found John XXI. then reigning, by whom they were received in Rome. They passed into France in 1276, and finding Philip the Bold had taken the cross in the crusade, they promised him the assistance of the Tartars in the rescue of the Holy Land, if he would lead an expedition into Syria against the Saracens. But these ambassadors were not themselves Tartars, but Christians of Georgia, a country known to be subject to the Tartars, and for this reason the French seemed divided in opinion as to whether these men were real ambassadors or spies. They assured the Holy Father in the name of Abaka that he was inclined to receive baptism, and that his uncle, Kublai, was already baptized.

In consequence of this the next Pope, Nicholas III., sent five Friars Minor—Gerard of Prato, Antony of Parma, John of St. Agatha, Andrew of Florence and Matthew of Arezzo—to whom

he gave special powers, principally for raising censures and granting absolutions and dispensations. They were the bearers of two letters—one of April 1, 1278, to King Abaka, whom the Pope exhorts to follow the example of his uncle, Kublai, in abandoning the worship of idols to embrace the Christian faith. He thanks him for his offers of assistance against the Saracens and earnestly commends to him his nuncios.

The second letter, dated from St. Peter's, but on April 12, bears the inscription: "To our very dear son in Jesus Christ, Kublai, Great Khan, Emperor and Moderator of all the Tartars, health and the apostolic benediction." Supposing the ambassador's story to be true and that he was a Christian, the Holy Father instructs him in the mysteries of the Incarnation and the Redemption, and upon the mission and divine authority of St. Peter and his successors to govern the universal Church and to lead into it all the peoples of the earth. He praises him—if the account of his conversion be true—for his excellence and wisdom as a leader of his people, and urges him to cherish and cause to fructify in himself the wonderful grace thus received from on high. In conclusion, he recommends to him the five missionaries whom he sends in compliance with his request to instruct him more deeply in the Christian religion.

All these remarkable facts of history would seem to place beyond question the kindly feelings of Kublai towards the Christians; but it is not so clearly established that he was himself baptized. And even in his letter to Kublai, Nicholas III. is careful to preface his eulogiums with the words "if it be true," or "if this be so," seeming to imply that he is not certain of the truth of the report, but rather hopes that it may indeed be true.

But this favorable disposition upon the part of the great Khan and his subordinates towards the Holy See afforded an excellent opportunity for zealous missionaries to penetrate into the immense camps of the warlike Tartars, and their labors bore abundant fruits in conversions to the faith. Other Franciscan missionaries converted so large a number of the Tartars upon the frontiers of Hungary that Nicholas III. ordered Philip, Bishop of Fermo, his Apostolic Legate in that portion of the North, to establish a bishop upon those frontiers in order to care properly for these newly converted people.

In 1285 Kublai and Argoun, Khan of Persia and son of Abaka, again sent ambassadors with new letters to Honorius IV. and to the Kings of France and Sicily to press upon them their favorite project of a concerted attack upon the Mahometans. Here let us go back a little.

Abaka, who had sent the sixteen ambassadors to present this scheme before the Council of Lyons, had been defeated in 1277 by the Sultan Bibars. In 1282 Abaka suffered another defeat before Edessa, which place he had besieged. He then retired to Hamadan (Ecbatana), where he celebrated the feast of Easter with the Christians. He died the following day, March 30, after a repast to which he had been invited. His vizier was suspected of having poisoned him. He left two sons, Argoun and Kandgiatu.

A brother of Abaka, Nikoudar, succeeded to the throne, to the exclusion of his two nephews just mentioned. He had been baptized in childhood by the name of Nicholas. Upon his accession to the throne he embraced Mahomedanism and took the name of Ahmed Khan. He worked zealously for the utter extermination of Christianity in his domains, destroying churches and exiling the Christians. His own relatives, however, even though not themselves Christians, held his apostasy in horror. In 1288 his nephew, Argoun, whom he had superseded upon the throne, rose in rebellion. He was defeated and placed in a close prison. In 1284 an emir named Bogha, who was sent to kill him, liberated him out of hatred to Ahmed, whose excesses had brought upon him the execration of his own subjects. Argoun again took the field with an army of determined men, defeated his uncle, made him a prisoner and delivered him to his mother-in-law, who caused him to be put to death.

Argoun now applied to Kublai for his investiture as King of Persia. Kublai granted the request promptly and seems to have been delighted to hear of the complete downfall of the apostate Ahmed. The new Khan treated the Christians with marked honor and repaired the churches which Ahmed had destroyed. The Kings of Armenia and Georgia, seeing him thus well disposed towards the Christians, prayed him to aid them in the recovery of the Holy Land. Argoun graciously replied that he would gladly do all in his power for the honor of God and the Christian religion. From that time he sought to establish an alliance with his neighbors for the accomplishment of this purpose.

It is stated that Argoun was chiefly indebted to the Christians for his triumph over Ahmed; that he had even decorated his standards and his arms with the cross, and that he had issued coin having on one side the Holy Sepulchre and on the other the words: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." It was thus it came about that the great and powerful Emperor of all the Tartars and his grandnephew, Argoun of Persia, wrote to Honorius IV. and to the Christian princes again urging an alliance

against the Mahometans: the Tartars to make the attack by way of Syria, while the Franks were to descend upon them simultaneously by way of Egypt.

Seemingly all things were now ready for the realization of the long-cherished project of the Holy See for the rescue of the Holy Land. How long does the reader suppose that the Saracens would have withstood the combined attacks of the terrible Tartars on the one side and the brave Franks on the other? The whole world seemed united for one grand triumph of Christianity. How, then, did it happen that this splendid design was never executed? Alas for human calculations! Just at this critical moment occurred those horrible massacres known in history as "The Sicilian Vespers," secretly instigated by the double-dealing Greeks in order to save their own prestige by dividing the Latins amongst themselves and setting Christian against Christian. And too well the infamous design was accomplished! Charles of Sicily was at once too busily occupied in counteracting the mischief thus done in his dominions to think further of a crusade in the Holy Land; Michael Paleologus, the perfidious Greek, plainly could not be counted on for support; all Christendom was for the moment disrupted and thrown into division, and once again the patient efforts of the Holy See so long continued were rendered null and fruitless.

In the following year Kublai had a revolution of his own to deal with. An uncle of the Emperor, only thirty years of age, who was intrusted by him with great power and a vast dominion, revolted, and sought to supersede Kublai himself in the general command. Marco Polo tells us that Nayam, the rebellious uncle, professed Christianity, but did not lead a Christian life. He had, however, adopted the cross as his standard and had drawn quite a goodly number of Christians into his revolt. He was promptly attacked by Kublai, who, after a stubborn resistance lasting from morning until noon, utterly defeated Nayam, took him prisoner and had him put to death by suffocation. Upon the death of their leader, the rebellious Christians and others submitted to Kublai Khan, who thus added four more provinces to his own immediate dominions.

The Jews and the Saracens in Kublai's army were not slow to turn the rebellion of a portion of his Christian subjects to account. They loaded them with reproaches and declared that Christ, whose emblem had been placed on Nayam's standards, had proved powerless to succor them. This continued from day to day, until the Christians deemed it unworthy of their religion to maintain silence, and they boldly appealed to the Emperor for protection. Kublai,

having assembled the Jews, Saracens and Christians, said to the latter: "Your God and His cross have not wished to assist Nayam; but be not ashamed of that fact, for a good and just God would never protect injustice and iniquity. Nayam betrayed his master and excited a rebellion, contrary to all equity. In his malice he implored the assistance of your God, but being a good and just God, He was unwilling to favor his crimes." Kublai then forbade the Jews, Saracens and all others ever again to utter a blasphemy against the God of the Christians or His cross.

Two years later, in 1288, Pope Nicholas IV. made use of both the Franciscans and Dominicans to carry the light of the Gospel to the most distant nations, and amongst the long list of those to whom he sent letters and missionaries we find the Tartars, the Christians held as captives amongst the Tartars and many countries which acknowledged the suzerainty of Kublai Khan. We find at this time pious men, especially among the Friars Minor, working zealously and with much success amongst the Oriental Tartars.

But space forbids us to follow this fascinating study any further. Many other interesting facts could be cited to show the prosperous condition of Christianity amongst the Tartars. And in all this we make full allowance for the existence and influence of the Nestorians, who were counted in immense numbers throughout their territory. We speak only of those Christians who were in communion with the Holy See. Nor have we time to speak at length of the good work accomplished in protecting and propagating the true faith amongst these warlike people by prominent laymen such as the Polos, John Bonakias, who devoted his wealth and influence to advancing the cause of religion, and the interpreters of the Emperor, who used their position and influence for the same purpose. Two Tartar Queens were numbered amongst the really fervent converts. Of the ambassadors who were sent to the Holy See, Sabadin Arkaon, a man of great nobility amongst the Tartars, embraced the true faith. Nor can we dwell upon the good effected by Julius, a noble Pisan, who penetrated amongst the Tartars and devoted his wealth to the spread of Christianity.

Argoun's wife was a very pious Christian. His son Carbagand was baptized, receiving the name of Nicholas. Kublai sent still other embassies to the Holy See for various purposes. Letters were written at different times by the Pope to Tagharsar, general of the Tartar army; John of Bonestra; Xanctus, prefect of the pretorium of Persia; Suffrid, Argoun's physician; the Pisan Ozolius and others to congratulate them upon their zeal for the conversion of the Tartars and to encourage them to continue their efforts.

Nor can we speak at length of John of Monte Corvino, the courageous and indomitable Franciscan, who penetrated to the very court of Kublai, was sent back on a special embassy to the Pope, returned again with several companions and whom we find at last installed as Archbishop of Pekin, with seven suffragan bishops, caring zealously for the great Christian community then established amongst the Tartars. But meanwhile Kublai, the great conqueror, had succumbed to the cold touch of death and departed this life in the year 1294, being 79 years of age and having reigned as Great Khan of all the Tartars thirty-four years.

This brief glance at the reign of one of the greatest Emperors that China ever possessed may aid us to feel a yet deeper interest in the welcome news that has recently reached this country of the imperial decree that has been issued by the present Chinese Emperor, without solicitation, extending his especial protection to the Catholics throughout his dominions. Verily the Church, like her Blessed Founder, is "the same yesterday, to-day and forever;" but the Christendom that could assemble such a parliament of the nations as made up the Second General Council of Lyons can certainly compare favorably, to say the least, with the Christendom of the nineteenth century.

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THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN ONTARIO.

THE most marvelous fact in the history of the province of Ontario during the past half century is the wonderful growth and development of the Catholic Church. Fifty years ago it was but a mustard seed; to-day it is a great cedar of Lebanon. Fifty years ago there were but three dioceses in Ontario; to-day there are eight, three of which are metropolitan sees. Fifty years ago there were not more than sixty priests scattered throughout the province from Sandwich to Ottawa and from Lake Erie to the Manitoulin Islands to minister to the spiritual needs of about one hundred and thirty thousand Catholics. To-day there are four hundred and fifty priests who have spiritual charge of four hundred thousand Catholics; yet these facts constitute but a segment in the great circle of progress which marks the history of the Catholic Church in Ontario during the past fifty years. What shall be said of the multiplication of churches, of colleges, of con-

vents, of hospitals which tell of Catholic faith, Catholic toil, Catholic generosity? The Irish Catholic immigrant who came to this country, as the Hon. Thomas D'Arcy McGee says, "with much poverty, great faith and willing hands," not only felled the forests, built bridges and constructed railroads and canals, but reared temples to God which bear testimony to his faith in tower, and turret, and spire, and cross melting away into immortal light.

The first two Catholic settlements in Ontario (Upper Canada) were at Sandwich, on the Detroit river, and St. Raphaels, in the county of Glengarry, in the eastern part of the province. The settlement at Sandwich was French and was, together with Malden (now Amherstburg), an offshoot of the old Detroit mission founded by the Jesuits in the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Glengarry settlement was made up of Highlanders—some of them descendants of the clans who fatefully escaped the terrible massacre of Glencoe. These stalwart Celts brought with them a robust faith and were most loyally attached to the British Crown. They came to Glengarry from Orange (Albany), N. Y., about the year 1776.

The earliest name found in connection with the Niagara mission is that of Vicar General Burke, who afterwards became Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia. This great pioneer missionary was stationed at historic Niagara from 1796 to 1798. Father Burke and Father McKenna, it appears, were the pioneer Irish priests in Ontario. Of course, during the French régime there was a chapel and a Recollect Father in charge at Niagara as early as the year 1720.

In 1804 Bishop Plessis, of Quebec, confided the spiritual care of the province of Ontario to the Rev. Alexander MacDonell, who had one assistant, and these two did all the missionary work between Glengarry and Sandwich. By the year 1816 the number of priests had increased to six, stationed as follows: Fathers Alexander MacDonell and John MacDonell, at St. Raphael's, in Glengarry; Father Delamothe, at Perth; Father Perenault, at Kingston, and Fathers Marchand and Crevier, at Sandwich.

In 1819 the Diocese of Quebec was erected into an archdiocese, and the following year Father Alexander MacDonell was consecrated Vicar Apostolic of Upper Canada. Kingston was named as the episcopal see, and in the year 1826 it was erected into a diocese. This is said to be the first diocese established in a British colony since the so-called Reformation.

The first Catholic church in the city of Toronto (called York till 1834) was St. Paul's, and was erected in 1826. Father Crowley appears to have been the first resident priest in Toronto, having received his appointment to this mission in 1825. There is little

doubt but that for many years previous to this French priests from the Sandwich mission were accustomed to celebrate Mass in Toronto while on their way to and from Kingston and Glengarry.

Father John Macdonald was the first resident priest in the Perth mission. Father Macdonald was a remarkable man, considered either physically or mentally. Here is a pen picture of him by a writer who had visited him not long before his death: "The great object of interest, love and pride of all classes throughout the country was the 'vicar,' old Father John Macdonald, who had held their spiritual rule for over half a century and was still living, hale and hearty, in a pleasant cottage in Glengarry. . . . This fine old priest was without exception the most venerable and patriarchal figure the writer ever looked upon. He was nearing his hundredth year of age. His massive head and trunk were unbent by years and sound in every function. Only the limbs that had traveled so many a weary mile in days when the whole country was but an untracked wilderness had yielded to time and fatigue and could not longer bear up the colossal frame. Wallace himself had not passed through more bold adventures than this old highland chief. . . . The reverence and love that centred in him in his old age gave proof of his benign and salutary use of his mighty sway."

The years 1828 and 1829 were marked by the rise of parishes in Peterborough, Belleville, Prescott and Bytown (Ottawa), the parish of Richmond, on the Ottawa, of which Father Patrick Haran was pastor from 1826 to 1830, being amalgamated with Bytown in 1830.

The first church in Kingston was the old French church built in 1808, the Rev. Angus Macdonald, V. G., being in charge. When Bishop Plessis paid his pastoral visit to Kingston in his itinerary of Upper Canada in 1816 the Catholic population was said to number seventy-five families, of which more than two-thirds were French Canadians.

The first resident priest at Belleville was Father Michael Brennan, and the first resident pastor of Prescott Father Timothy O'Meara. Father Crowley appears to have been the first pastor of Peterborough, having been transferred to this parish from Toronto (York) in the year 1828.

Bytown, which in those early days was little more than a hamlet, but destined one day, under the name of Ottawa, to become the capital of the Dominion and the seat of an archbishopric, had for its first pastor Father Angus Macdonell, who remained until about 1831 or 1832, when he was succeeded by Father John Cullen.

The years 1833 and 1834 were marked by the rise of parishes at Cobourg, Port Hope, Dundas, Guelph, St. Thomas, London and St. Catharines. Father Dempsey was given charge of Cobourg

and Port Hope, Father John Cassidy of Dundas and Guelph, while Father Daniel Downie looked after St. Thomas and London.

The first church built in London was on the corner of Richmond street and Maple avenue. It was a primitive structure of logs, with an earthen floor, and was dedicated by Father Downie in 1834. The fortunes of London continued to be bound up with St. Thomas until 1845, when Father Mills, formerly at St. Thomas, was placed in charge of the townships of London and Westminster. The Catholics of St. Catharines were also dependent upon the priest at Niagara for the consolations of religion till 1838, when Father J. M. Burke took up his residence among them.

The years 1835 and 1836 saw the organization of a number of new parishes or missions at Waterloo, Cornwall, Raleigh, on Lake Erie, and Penetanguishene. Father J. B. Wirriats became first pastor of Waterloo and Father J. B. Proulx the first resident priest at Penetanguishene. Father Proulx was for many years one of the most stalwart and conspicuous figures in the priesthood of Toronto diocese. Well does the writer of this sketch remember, when a boy at school back in the seventies, Father Proulx's visits to St. Michael's College, Toronto. The great and simple-hearted monsignor—for he had been created a domestic prelate—would mingle with the boys on the playground and entertain them by giving them the Indian warwhoop, which this self-sacrificing and zealous missionary had so often heard when he lived among the Indians of the Manitoulin Islands.

When the Honorable and Right Rev. Alexander MacDonell, Bishop of Kingston (the title honorable because the Bishop was a member of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada), left on a trip to Europe in 1839 there were in all thirty-four priests in the province ministering to the spiritual wants of the Catholic people from the Ottawa river to the Detroit.

It had long been the cherished desire of Bishop MacDonell to found and endow a seminary for the education of his clergy. The college which the Bishop had largely maintained for many years at his own expense at St. Raphael's, in Glengarry, had indeed been a nursery of priests, and from its humble class rooms had graduated such zealous, pious and efficient missionaries as Father George Hay, Father Michael Brennan and Father Edward Gordon; but the growing needs of the Catholic Church in Ontario demanded a larger and better equipped seminary of learning. Accordingly the corner-stone of Regiopolis College, in Kingston, was laid on June 11, 1838, Bishop Macdonell officiating, assisted by his coadjutor, Mgr. Gaulin, Vicar General Angus Macdonald and others of the clergy.

Bishop Macdonell sailed for Europe in the summer of 1839, and in due time landed at Liverpool, whence he went to London, where he communicated with the Colonial Office regarding emigration and other matters. From England he crossed over to Ireland, where he visited several of the Irish prelates. While in the west of Ireland he was stricken down with an attack of inflammation of the lungs, but rallied sufficiently to set out for Scotland to visit his friend, Father William Reid, parish priest at Dumfries. Here the Bishop had a second attack of inflammation, and after having received the last rites of the Church passed quietly away on the morning of the 14th of January, 1840. His funeral took place in St. Mary's Cathedral, in Edinburgh, and was attended by Bishop Gillis, coadjutor to the eastern district of Scotland; Bishops Carruthers, of Edinburgh; Murdoch, of Glasgow, and Scott, of Greenock, and a large number of priests. In 1861 the remains of the dead prelate were brought to Canada and placed in the vaults of Notre Dame Church, Montreal, where they remained for a short time, when they were transferred to Kingston.

Bishop MacDonell was the pioneer Bishop of Ontario, a prelate of wonderful force of character—unquestionably one of the greatest and most commanding figures in the history of the Catholic Church in Canada.

In 1841, at the representation of Mgr. Gaulin, who had succeeded Bishop MacDonell, the western portion of Kingston Diocese was erected into a new diocese, with the city of Toronto as the seat of the new episcopal see. Very Rev. Michael Power, vicar general of the Diocese of Montreal, was chosen as Bishop of the newly erected diocese. The limits of the new diocese were officially defined as follows: West of Newcastle, from Lake Ontario to Lake Muskoka; from thence by a line directed northwest through Lakes Moon and Muskoka, to western branch of two rivers emptying into the Ottawa; all west of that, including Lake Superior districts.

Bishop Power had in his new and extensive diocese nineteen priests, sixteen of whom attended his first diocesan synod, which met in the month of October in St. Paul's Church, Toronto.

Here are the priests and their respective charges: Very Rev. W. P. Macdonald, V. G., Hamilton; Rev. M. R. Mills, Brantford, Indiana and Dumfries; James O'Flynn, Dundas, Oakville and Trafalgar; James Bennet, Tecumseth and Adjala; Edward Gordon, Niagara and Niagara Falls; Patrick O'Dwyer, London and St. Thomas; Eugene O'Reilly, Toronto and Albion; J. B. Proulx, Manitoulin and the Upper Lakes; Michael McDonnell, Maidstone and Rochester; Thomas Gibney, Guelph and Stratford; Peter Schneider, Waterloo, Wilmot and Goderich; James Quinlan, New-

market and Barrie; Amable Charest, Penetanguishene; Very Rev. Æneas Macdonell, V. G., Sandwich; Rev. J. B. Morin, Raleigh; Rev. Augustine Vervais, Amherstburg, and Rev. W. P. McDonagh. Stephen Fergus and J. J. Hay (secretary of the diocese), Toronto.

The work of Bishop Power during the seven years that he wore the mitre in Toronto was full of goodly and pious fruitage. From the very beginning of his episcopate Bishop Power felt the need of a suitable Cathedral Church. He finally succeeded in purchasing the block of land on Church street, on which the Cathedral Palace and Loretto Convent now stand, and on May 8, 1845, the cornerstone of St. Michael's Cathedral was laid by the Bishop in person, assisted by Fathers Macdonald, V. G., McDonagh, Gordon, O'Reilly, Timlin, Carroll, Hay, Quinlan and Nightingale.

Soon after Bishop Power's advent to the diocese he made formal application to Very Rev. Father Roothaan, general of the Society of Jesus, for priests of that society to aid him in the missions of his diocese. His appeal to Father Roothaan met with a favorable response. In 1843 two Jesuits, Fathers Peter Point and John Peter Chone, came to the diocese and were placed in charge of the parish of Assumption at Sandwich. The new church commenced by Father Macdonell, V. G., was completed by them and dedicated in 1846, and some ten years later they founded the College of Assumption. Besides the mission at Sandwich the Jesuit Fathers had at one time charge also of Chatham and of Wilmot, in the county of Waterloo. At present the Jesuit Fathers have charge of Guelph and the Lake Superior and Georgian Bay missions.

The year 1847 will be forever marked for its blood and tear-stained story of the Irish emigrants who, flying from persecution and famine, contracted the deadly ship fever and died—some on their way across the ocean, others at Grosse Isle, and still others at Quebec, Montreal, Kingston and Toronto. It was while ministering to a poor woman who lay dying at the immigrant sheds in Toronto that Bishop Power contracted the dread malady, which terminated his saintly and heroic career and plunged the citizens of Toronto, irrespective of creed, into the most heartfelt and profound grief. The *British Colonist*, the leading newspaper of the day, referring to the sad event, said: "It is not for us to pronounce his eulogy. The sorrow of his flock, the regret of the community, the members of which have learned to appreciate his exertions to promote peace and brotherly love among us, the tears that moisten the cheeks of many persons not within the pale of his Church, to whom we have spoken of his untimely decease, are the best evidences of the loss sustained in his death. May it be our lot to see a successor appointed to the episcopate whom all may learn to love

as well." Bishop Power lies entombed beneath the great Cathedral which he planned, but did not live to see completed.

In 1847 the ancient see of Kingston—the pioneer diocese of Ontario—was shorn of a portion of its eastern territory to constitute a new diocese to be known as Ottawa. Right Rev. Bishop Guigues became the first Bishop of this newly created diocese and selected Ottawa as the seat of his episcopal see.

We have now touched, by way of introduction, the threshold of the history of the Catholic Church in Ontario during the past fifty years. Pope Pius IX. had just ascended the Papal Throne. Europe had been rocked by the upheaval of 1848. Poor, unhappy Ireland lay "like a corpse on a dissecting table." Canada had lately passed through the throes of a rebellion and was now peacefully enjoying the fruits of responsible government. Irish Catholic immigrants were hewing out homes for themselves in the wilderness massed together in settlements in well nigh every county of the province, while the pioneer priest, true to the spirit of his holy calling, was piercing the virgin forests, fording angry streams, threading impassable roads to minister to his scattered flock—to strengthen them with the Bread of Life and prepare them for the agony of death.

"It was," says a writer, "reserved for France, so closely connected with the earlier history of this country and so renowned for the missionary spirit of her children, to give Toronto its second Bishop in the person of Armand Francis Marie, Comte de Charbonnel."

Dr. de Charbonnel was consecrated Bishop of Toronto by His Holiness Pope Pius IX. in the Sistine Chapel on May 26, 1850, in presence of a large assembly, amongst whom were the French Ambassador and the general of the French troops at Rome. As a souvenir of consecration the Holy Father presented the Bishop with a well filled purse and a chasuble of gold, upon which were embroidered the Papal arms. In addition to these His Holiness offered him his choice between a fine ciborium and a rich chalice. His Lordship chose the ciborium; then, taking the chalice in the other hand, he turned towards Pius IX., saying: "*Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus quæ retribuit mihi,*" and finishing the quotation said: "*Calicem salutaris accipiam et nomen Domini invocabo.*" ("I shall take the chalice of salvation and call upon the name of the Lord.") The Pope with a smile appreciated the ready answer, and the Bishop withdrew, happy possessor of all three.

Bishop de Charbonnel, accompanied by Mgr. Prince, coadjutor Bishop of Montreal, arrived in Toronto September 21, 1850, and took formal possession of his see the following Sunday. To

liquidate the debt on the Cathedral, which amounted to about sixty thousand dollars, was the first thought and care of the newly consecrated Bishop. For the purpose of raising funds His Lordship visited every Catholic mission—nay, it is said, every Catholic family—in his vast diocese. He also early turned his attention to the needs of Catholic education and entered the arena of discussion as an uncompromising champion of separate schools. Indeed, as a well-known Catholic writer avers, "His whole episcopate was one continual struggle against an autocratic Superintendent of Education (Dr. Ryerson), against wily politicians and against popular bigotry upon this vital subject." His battling was not without good results. It taught bigotry that it cannot hold out against justice—that the sacred right of educating the child is a matter of conscience, and that no law framed in a commonwealth of freedom should attempt to violate or clash with the sacred and inalienable rights of the parent with respect to the education of the child.

Let us now for a moment glance at the beginning of Catholic education in the city of Toronto. When Bishop Power visited Europe in 1847 he made arrangements with the Loretto Community to send a colony of their nuns to Toronto to assist in the work of Catholic education. Accordingly in September five members of the order arrived in the city and were joyfully received by the Catholic people. This was the beginning of the Loretto foundations in Ontario which have conferred such inestimable benefits upon our people. On October 7, 1851, Mother Delphine, of the Sisters of St. Joseph, accompanied by Sister M. Martha, Sister M. Alphonsus and Sister M. Bernard, arrived in Toronto. The Christian Brothers came to Toronto the same year and were first introduced and established there by Brother Patrick, who afterwards became one of the assistants to the superior general of the whole order.

In 1848 there were thirty-two Catholic schools in the province, and in 1850 this number had increased to forty-six. In 1852 there were in the Catholic schools of Toronto seven hundred and six pupils under the care of twelve teachers, of whom two were Sisters of Loretto and five were Christian Brothers.

In August, 1852, four Basilians, with the Very Rev. Father Soulerin as superior, came, at the invitation of Bishop de Charbonnel, to Toronto to found a Catholic college. This was the origin and beginning of St. Michael's College. The next few years saw a number of churches erected in Toronto—St. Mary's, in 1851; St. Basil's, in 1856, and St. Patrick's, about the year 1859.

In 1856, in accordance with representations made to Rome, Bulls were issued dividing the Diocese of Toronto and establishing two new sees—that of Hamilton and London. The Right Rev. John

Farrell, of Peterborough, was consecrated Bishop of Hamilton and the Right Rev. Peter Adolphe Pinsonneault, of Montreal, Bishop of London. Thus within thirty-six years did the Catholic Church in Ontario expand from a single diocese, with a handful of spiritual workmen, into five dioceses.

The returns for 1859 give thirty-three priests in Toronto Diocese. Amongst the new parishes recently organized were Barrie, Brock, Orillia and Adjala. The late revered and beloved Archbishop Walsh, of Toronto, was the first parish priest of Brock, and the late Bishop Jamot, saintly and zealous, the first parish priest of Barrie.

In 1859 Bishop de Charbonnel obtained a coadjutor in the person of the Right Rev. John Joseph Lynch, president of the College of Holy Angels, Niagara Falls, N. Y., whose name is inseparably connected with the history of the Catholic Church in Ontario for nearly thirty years. In April, 1860, Bishop de Charbonnel resigned his see and returned to France, where he became a Capuchin and died a saintly death, venerable and beloved, at the ripe age of 89, on Easter Sunday, March 29, 1891. The Catholic Church in Ontario owes this great prelate much—it will assuredly hold his name forever in benediction.

Meanwhile in the eastern part of the province the Catholic Church was making rapid strides, too. Mgr. Gaulin, Bishop of Kingston, having passed away, his coadjutor, Bishop Phelan, succeeded him, but survived him only a month. The fourth Bishop of Kingston, the mother diocese of Ontario, was Right Rev. Dr. Horan, for a number of years professor in Laval University, Quebec. During Bishop Horan's episcopal reign the Catholic Church in Kingston made great progress. His Lordship took a deep interest in Catholic education, and the work in Regiopolis College gained from His Lordship a new and fuller impetus. Mgr. Horan was a great church builder, and under his guidance some of the finest ecclesiastical structures in the diocese took shape and form.

In the Diocese of Ottawa, which had been set apart in 1847, the Catholic Church, under the benign and saintly rule of its first Bishop, Right Rev. J. E. Guigues, was attaining wonderful growth and development. Mgr. Guigues, like Bishop de Charbonnel, saw early the necessity of making provision for the establishing of a Catholic college or seminary for the education and training of the Catholic priesthood of his vast diocese, and accordingly, in 1848, this good Bishop, aided by a number of gifted and zealous Oblate Fathers, at the head of whom was Dr. Tabaret, established the College of Ottawa, which from its modest beginning half a century ago

has grown into a great Catholic University that has attracted the attention and won the commendation of the ablest scholars in the land.

Bishop Lynch, whose career as a Lazarist Father—whether in missionary work upon the prairies of Texas or as president of the College of Holy Angels—was one of marvelous activity, now entered upon the performance of his episcopal duties with renewed energy and ardor. The work of his busy crozier—large heart and throbbing brain—is best summed up in the inscriptions on the shields with which St. Michael's Cathedral was adorned on the occasion of his silver jubilee in 1884: "Loretto Convent, established in 1862; St. Joseph's Convent, established in 1863; St. Michael's tower and spire, built in 1865; Loretto Abbey, Wellington Place, extended in 1867; St. Nicholas' Home, established in 1869; attended Ecumenical Council in 1870; De La Salle Institute, established in 1871; consecrated Bishop O'Brien, Kingston, in 1873; consecrated Bishop Crinnon, Hamilton, in 1874; consecrated Archbishop Taschereau, Quebec, in 1874; Convent of the Precious Blood, established in 1874; Magdalen Asylum, established in 1875; Convents of St. Joseph established in St. Catharine's, Thorold, Barrie and Oshawa; forty parish churches and thirty presbyteries established; seventy priests ordained for the diocese and St. John's Grove and House established." To these may be added the establishing of the Carmelite Monastery at Niagara Falls, Ontario.

In 1870 Toronto was made an archiepiscopal see, with Mgr. Lynch its first Archbishop and the sees of London and Hamilton suffragans. In 1873 the northern part of Ontario was erected into a vicariate and Bishop Jamot appointed Vicar Apostolic. This was afterwards merged in the Diocese of Peterborough, Mgr. Jamot becoming its first Bishop. In 1874 Right Rev. Dr. O'Mahony was appointed auxiliary Bishop of Toronto.

Bishop Farrell bore the crozier in Hamilton for seventeen years—from 1856 till 1873. His rule was benign and fatherly. No priest in his diocese toiled harder than the Bishop. He attended sick calls, visited the poor and heard confessions every week and every day when required.

During his episcopate churches multiplied in his diocese, while there was a steady advancement along the lines of Catholic education. It was under his fostering care and guidance, too, that the beautiful Cathedral Church of the diocese rose and convents conducted by the Sisters of Loretto established in Hamilton and Guelph. Bishop Farrell was a man of imposing and courtly bearing, standing six feet four inches in height and possessing a most handsome countenance. He was the tallest and grandest looking personage of all the Bishops and patriarchs assembled at the Vati-

can Council in Rome in 1870. Hamilton Diocese was bereft of its good and zealous first Bishop in the autumn of 1873, when death carried away Right Rev. John Farrell, one of the kindest, noblest and most courteous of the prelates that have ever worn the mitre or graced the sees of Ontario.

A venerable priest who did the work of a great apostle in the Catholic pioneer days of Ontario and was for many years associated with Bishop Farrell was Very Rev. Edward Gordon, V. G. Father Gordon was a convert and was educated in St. Raphael's Seminary, in Glengarry. Soon after his ordination, in 1830, he began his mission work, the field of his labors extending from Toronto to Niagara Falls, including Adjala, Trafalgar, Toronto, Gore, Dundas and Niagara Falls. At Niagara he built the first church, St. Vincent de Paul's, in 1835. Upon the division of the Diocese of Kingston he remained in charge at Niagara and subsequently became vicar general of the Diocese of Toronto under Bishop de Charbonnel and resided in Hamilton. When Bishop Farrell took possession of the See of Hamilton he made Father Gordon his vicar general, in the enjoyment of which dignity this good and venerable priest continued till his death, which took place early in the seventies.

The health of Mgr. Pinsonneault, Bishop of London, becoming impaired, it was necessary to select a successor, and on November 10, 1867, Vicar General Walsh, who had been rector of St. Michael's Cathedral for a number of years and was the present pastor of St. Mary's Church, Toronto, was consecrated Bishop of London, in succession to Dr. Pinsonneault. Bishop Walsh was born in Kilkenny, Ireland, and received his education in the College of Waterford and the Sulpitian Seminary in Montreal.

On taking up the crozier laid down by Bishop Pinsonneault in his retirement from London, Dr. Walsh applied himself with zeal to the episcopal duties of his diocese, carrying into his work the same good judgment, prudence and tact which had so favorably marked his priestly labors for so many years in the Diocese of Toronto. He became endeared to his clergy at the very outset, and this bond of affection and love remained intact during the two and twenty years that he continued as chief pastor of the London Diocese. When Bishop Walsh came to the diocese he found it heavily encumbered with debt and sorely in the need of additional convents, churches, schools and hospitals. When, in response to the voice of Rome, he bade adieu to London—with all its tender memories and associations—on November 27, 1889, to take up the crozier in succession to Archbishop Lynch in Toronto, he left a diocese well provided with churches, schools and hospitals and a

body of Catholic priests devoted and loyal—as faithful as could be found in any diocese of Canada. Among the many beautiful ecclesiastical edifices erected in the diocese during his episcopal régime St. Peter's Cathedral, in London, will ever remain a monument to the faith and zeal of this great and good Bishop.

Turning to the Diocese of Ottawa, we find that the progress of Catholicity there has been in the meantime very marked. Bishop Guigues having died in 1874, Right Rev. J. T. Duhamel was appointed his successor. Bishop Duhamel soon proved himself a prelate of great executive ability—full of tact, wisdom and energy. He is a true friend of Catholic education—ever encouraging, aiding and directing it. In 1887 the Diocese of Ottawa was erected into a metropolitan see, Dr. Duhamel becoming its first Archbishop. The Catholic population in the archdiocese is 120,000 and the number of priests 166. In 1882 the Vicariate of Pontiac was established, with Right Rev. N. Z. Lorrain its Vicar Apostolic. This year the vicariate has been erected into the Diocese of Pembroke, with Dr. Lorrain as its first Bishop and suffragan of the metropolitan of Ottawa. Mgr. Lorrain is a man of great zeal, piety, earnestness and simplicity of character. In addition to administering successfully the affairs of his large and scattered diocese he does an amount of parochial work equal to that of any parish priest in Ontario. Under his benign and watchful care the Catholic Church has made marvelous progress in his vast diocese, which includes the county of Renfrew, in Ontario, and the county of Pontiac, in Quebec, the territory between 88 and 72 degrees, the height of land at the south, Hudson's Bay, James' Bay and the Great Whale river at the north. The Catholic population of the diocese is 36,171, spiritually cared for by thirty-three priests.

Bishop O'Brien, who succeeded Right Rev. Dr. Horan as Bishop of Kingston in 1875, wore the mitre for four years, and during that time labored most assiduously as chief pastor of the diocese. He was a remarkable financier, and did much to liquidate the debt which weighed upon the diocese. Dr. O'Brien dying in 1879, Right Rev. James Vincent Cleary, of Waterford, Ireland, was appointed to the vacant see. The work of this great prelate is so well and widely known that to chronicle his episcopal activities is but to review what is already fresh in the mind of every Catholic in Canada.

There is not a doubt but that Dr. Cleary was one of the most scholarly, if not the most scholarly, prelate who ever wore the mitre in the Catholic Church in America. He was indeed a man of rare endowments—a most gifted and eloquent speaker—the Cicero of the Catholic Church in Canada. He had a great mind, lofty

ideals and the fervor and zeal of the earliest apostleship of the Church. The pastorals which he issued from time to time during his episcopal rule were models—in the depth, clearness, fullness and beauty of the thought which they embodied. If there was one quality more than another which Dr. Cleary possessed it was courage. He stood upon the ramparts of the Church of God, asking no quarter, giving no quarter, ready to defend its every right and principle to the death.

During the seventeen years that this great and gifted prelate ruled the Diocese of Kingston the progress of the Catholic Church in the mother see of Ontario was most notable. A profound scholar himself, Dr. Cleary lent his episcopal influence to the establishing of Catholic schools in every part of his diocese. He revived Regiopolis College, which was obliged to close its doors through financial embarrassment in 1869, and this institution to-day promises to do a great and good work. The Catholic population of the diocese is 35,000, and the number of priests 44.

In 1889 Kingston was erected into a metropolitan see, with Mgr. Cleary its first Archbishop. At the same time a new diocese was created in the eastern part of the province, which in days gone by had been the cradle of Catholic faith in Ontario. This new diocese, whose Bishop is the Right Rev. Alex MacDonell, embraces the counties of Stormont and Glengarry, and is known as the Diocese of Alexandria. It has a Catholic population of 18,000, spiritually attended by twelve priests. Mgr. MacDonell is a prudent and zealous prelate worthy in every way of the distinguished name which he bears.

The mitre worn with so much lustre for a period of seventeen years in the mother see of Ontario by Most Rev. Dr. Cleary found worthy succession in the person of Vicar General Gauthier, of Brockville, who was consecrated Archbishop of Kingston in St. Mary's Cathedral October 18, 1898.

Dr. Gauthier brings to his work great executive power, tact and the burning zeal of the early apostleship. He has a precise knowledge of the conditions and wants of his diocese and possesses the prudence and wisdom to administer its affairs in the very best interests of Holy Church.

Already is Dr. Gauthier's episcopal régime bearing goodly fruit. Under his wise guidance Catholic education, which had been so dear to the heart of his gifted predecessor, is breaking into richer blossoms and gives promise of a return worthy of those who hold it in sacred keeping.

Between 1873 and 1889 two Bishops ruled in succession the See of Hamilton—Dr. Crinon and Dr. Carberry. Bishop Crinon had

been parish priest of Stratford, and he brought to the performance of his episcopal duties a zeal and self-sacrifice which did not fail to bear the richest fruit. Bishop Carberry, his successor, came from Ireland, where he had been famed among his Dominican Brothers for his culture and scholarship and his deep but unostentatious piety. Both these good Bishops died martyrs to the toils entailed in bearing the crozier.

The Diocese of Hamilton becoming widowed by the death of Dr. Carberry in 1889, Right Rev. T. J. Dowling, who had succeeded Bishop Jamot in the See of Peterborough in 1887, was translated to fill the vacant see. During the ten years that Bishop Dowling has borne the crozier the progress of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of Hamilton has been most marked. Dr. Dowling is possessed of an ability most practical and an untiring energy. He thoroughly understands the needs of his diocese and is unwearied in his efforts to promote the spiritual and temporal welfare of his people. During his spiritual régime as chief pastor of the diocese new schools, new convents, new hospitals and new churches have marked the years of his episcopal toil. The Catholic population of Hamilton Diocese is 50,000 and the number of priests 55.

When Bishop Dowling was translated to Hamilton in 1889 Right Rev. R. A. O'Connor was appointed to the vacant See of Peterborough. Bishop O'Connor had been for many years parish priest of Barrie and was recognized as one of the most successful priests in Ontario. His diocese is a very extensive one, comprising the counties of Durham, Northumberland, Peterboro, Victoria and the districts of Algoma, Muskoka, Parry Sound and the western portion of Nipissing. The Catholic population in the diocese is 36,500 and the number of priests 48. Mgr. O'Connor is known as an eminently prudent and practical Bishop, whose episcopal régime will not likely be marked by many mistakes.

On Bishop Walsh's retirement from London to become Archbishop of Toronto in 1889 Dr. O'Connor, president of Assumption College, Sandwich, was chosen to succeed him. Bishop O'Connor's episcopal rule in London bore happy spiritual fruit.

The sudden death of Most Rev. John Walsh, Archbishop of Toronto, on the 31st of July, 1898, closed the life work and career of one of the most beautiful characters, wise and gifted prelates that have ever adorned the Catholic Church in Canada. His wise counsel, gentle rule, warm sympathy and noble charity had blessed the priests and people of Toronto for nine years—renewing the ardor of faith in each heart and home, bringing consolation to the poor and afflicted and giving spiritual health and joy where before had reigned sorrow and suffering. His death has indeed been a blow

which the Catholic Church in Toronto has keenly felt. It may be with surety said that no other prelate has filled such a place in the Catholic Church in Canada, and it is now a well accepted fact that had the great and beloved Archbishop of Toronto lived a few weeks longer Rome would have honored him with an enrollment in her College of Cardinals.

But the great Archdiocese of Toronto, with its 60,000 Catholics and 79 priests, did not remain long widowed. The happy choice of succession fell upon Dr. O'Connor, Bishop of London, whose devotedness to episcopal duties and ardent zeal for the Church of God marked him out as a chief among the Catholic prelates of Ontario.

On the translation of Mgr. O'Connor from London to Toronto Right Rev. Monsignor F. P. McEvay, rector of St. Mary's Cathedral, Hamilton, became Bishop of London. Mgr. McEvay possesses great administrative gifts, and his advent to London has been hailed with delight by its priests and people. London is perhaps the richest diocese in Ontario and has a population of 60,000, spiritually cared for by 71 priests.

In the annals of Catholic education in Ontario there are three names which will be always held in grateful memory and benediction—that of Rev. Dr. Louis Funcken, founder of St. Jerome's College, Berlin, Ontario; that of Very Rev. Charles Vincent, late president of St. Michael's College, Toronto, and that of Rev. Dr. Tabaret, founder and for many years president of Ottawa University, Ottawa.

Among the venerable priests in Ontario still laboring in the vineyard of the Master who are nearing their golden jubilee and worthy of our special love and esteem are Rev. Dr. Kilroy, of Stratford; Rev. Dr. Flannery, of Windsor; Right Rev. Mgr. Heenan, of Dundas, and Right Rev. Mgr. Farrelly, of Belleville.

The following religious orders have houses in Ontario: Men—Society of Jesus, Congregation of St. Basil, Congregation of the Resurrection, Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Order of Calced Carmelites, Order of St. Francis, Order of Minor Capuchins, Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, Company of Mary and Brothers of the Christian Schools. Women—Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame, Religious Hospitalers of the Hotel Dieu, Gray Nuns of the Cross, Ladies of Loretto, Sisters of the Congregation of St. Joseph, Ursuline Nuns, Ladies of the Sacred Heart, Sisters of the Holy Cross and Seven Dolors, Sisters of Charity, Sisters of Our Lady of the Refuge, Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary, Sisters Adorers of the Precious Blood, Daughters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, School Sisters of Notre Dame,

Sisters of Mercy, Sisters of Wisdom, Sisters of Mary and Faithful Companions of Jesus.

Nor has Catholic literary thought and achievement been wanting to those who have tended the altar fires of faith during the past fifty years in Ontario. Such works as Father Northgraves' "Mistakes of Modern Infidels," Rev. Dr. Harris' "History of the Early Missions in Western Canada" and "The Catholic Church in the Niagara Peninsula" and the late Rev. Dr. Dawson's "Life of Pope Pius the Ninth" have a permanent place and value not only in the history of the Catholic Church, but in the history of our country.

Truly the garden of the Catholic Church in Ontario tilled by the faithful spiritual laborer during the past half century has blossomed and borne goodly increment which, may we not hope, the next fifty years will increase and multiply a hundred fold!

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"THE MAKING OF RELIGION."—II.

THE book of Mr. Andrew Lang, published under the above title, naturally falls, as noted in a previous article, into two parts: the first weighs the current scientific explanation of the origin of the idea of "soul" or "spirit," and finds this explanation, to say the least, wanting; this section of the book has already been reviewed; the second part of the work examines the conclusions Science promulgates in regard to the origin of the idea of "gods" and "God," and with these chapters the present article deals.

At the very outset of the book the author is careful to draw attention to the fact that his two theses are entirely independent the one of the other. Thus he concedes that the position he maintains upon the reality of such supernormal phenomena as clairvoyance, fetishism, haunted houses, etc., and the bearing of this question upon the origin of the idea of "spirit" may be regarded as fantastic, or improbable, or merely left on one side; still, the strength of his second position about the origin of the idea of "God," derived from evidence of a different character, will not, therefore, be in any way impaired.

With the conclusion to which Science has come in this latter instance, Mr. Lang can no more agree than with her solution of the previous problem. "For whatever reasons, ma'am, I differed with

you before," he may be interpreted as saying to Science, "for even stronger ones I must part company with you now. It is easy enough for you to theorize thus: 'Worshiping first the departed souls of his kindred, man later extended the doctrine of spiritual beings in many directions. Ghosts or other spiritual existences fashioned on the same line prospered until they became gods. Finally, as the result of a variety of processes, one of these gods became supreme, and at last was regarded as the one only God,' it is easy enough to say this, but an all important preliminary question is, do the *facts* fit in with this very simple system? They don't, ma'am; emphatically they do not, and therefore, out of devotion to your own cause and fidelity to your methods, I am forced to expose the fallacy of your argument and the unwarrantness of your conclusions," and this the author does without mincing matters. He feels himself on ground sure to appear more solid in the esteem of scientific men than that he occupied in the defense of the reality of visions and the acquisition of knowledge apparently not attainable through the normal channels of sense. His words, consequently, are more trenchant, his attack more direct and his own position stated with greater positiveness. It is well worth while to follow him at his self-appointed task, though it be only to glean stray ears of the good grain from the sheaves he carries.

I.

The idea of "God," the origin of which Science undertakes to elucidate, is this: "A primal eternal Being, the author of all things, the Father and friend of man, the invisible, omniscient guardian of morality." Science declares: First. That this idea is a comparatively recent acquisition in the history of human kind; it was born of civilization; and as, from the scientific standpoint, civilization betokens the maturity of a race and supposes rudimentary ages of savagery, superstition and ignorance, it follows that during these preliminary times there was no such notion of "God" as later generations have come to know. Second. The "civilized" idea of God, although thus recent, still has its roots in those earlier days of darkness—the "roots" are primitive ideas about "spirit," the practice of "ancestor-worship," the analogy between living chiefs and "chiefs" among the dead, the gradual acknowledgment of differing degrees among the latter, some coming to be esteemed greater than others and the final endowment of one dead chief with powers placing him above the rest, he thus becoming a "supreme being." Third. Hence the essential differences between the present idea

of "God" among us and that idea as held by our ancestors, or by people at the present day in circumstances such as theirs. "God" for them meant, and means, no more than an ancestral "spirit" endowed with enlarged prerogatives of power or passion, who falls under no law but the mood of his lawless whims, whose service takes the form of sacrificial bribes to appease His anger or buy His aid, and into whose religious code no ethical idea enters. Fourth. Science goes a step farther and declares the really primordial condition of man to have been absolutely godless, and finds evidence of the fact in the like condition of certain savage tribes at the present day.

Evidently this catena of statements leaves no room for an early Revelation and knocks down like a child's house of cards the fundamental doctrines of Christianity.

And is this the last word of Science upon the origin of religion? Is religion, as now understood among men, the latest evolutionary form of a series of mistakes, fallacies and illusions? Is its germ a blunder and its present form only the result of progressive but unessential refinements on that blunder? Is the inference this, that religion is untrue, that nothing actual corresponds to its hypothesis? "The inference," quietly observes Mr. Lang, granting for the nonce its basis, "is not perhaps logical, for all our science itself is the result of progressive refinements upon hypotheses originally erroneous, fashioned to explain facts misconceived. Yet our science is true within its limits, though very far from being exhaustive of the truth. In the same way, it might be argued, our religion, even granting that it arose out of primitive fallacies and false hypotheses, may yet have been refined, as science has been, through a multitude of causes into an approximate truth." The shrewd comment is but one of many passing remarks whose sharp points prick conclusions arrived at injudiciously, even though the author grants the premises behind them a respect they do not deserve. Mr. Lang, however, goes at the premises themselves; one by one he tears them open, exhibits the shoddiness of their texture and sets off against it the well-woven material of actual fact and sound deduction.

In reviewing his work place is claimed for a suggestion not without relevancy and moment. The word "science" is easy on the author's pen to designate what in good sooth is, at its best, but the teaching of a group of those who follow Science. True, this group is one to conjure with; the names of Huxley and Spencer alone are in common belief an army by themselves. These men being of the noble company of pioneers in modern methods of research and

thought have, after the wont of pioneers, laid claim to excessively large preserves. Mr. Huxley did indeed give years to developing, and with success, biology, and therein much of his work will endure; but in the field of ethnology, not to speak of Biblical criticism, with its essential philological apparatus, Mr. Huxley never completed a course of even "first lessons," yet in both branches he has had somewhat to say, and he has given to his views the authoritative weight of a past master.

Mr. Herbert Spencer undertook to "civil engineer" the whole domain of man and his institutions, civil, religious, social and moral, carrying out the survey on the supposedly accurate lines of the new method, Evolution. Evolution, however, is all too extensive to be held in control, or exhausted by one or two men, or by a school made up of their disciples and popularizers. If evolution be the new "philosopher's stone," the universal solvent of Truth, then has it office in every branch of Knowledge. But in each branch its application, the methods and progress of the evolutionary process, is determined by the facts of actual development in that branch with which only the specialist can be acquainted. In view of the comparative recentness of the evolutionary hypothesis and of the tremendous extent of its application, it follows that Mr. Spencer's work must be, to speak with moderation, premature, largely subjective, and wanting in that complete and exact exploration of separate subjects which alone could justify its generalizations. Mr. Huxley's work, on the same grounds, cannot be given weight from the standpoint of the scientific evolutionists, except within that single sphere of research which study and experimentation had made his own; and even his biological work is subject to the correction and augmentation of other workers whose equipment and research equal or will equal his. Although the great labors of these men and their co-workers do give a dominant tone of materialism to scientific thought at the present day, it is unfair to Science as long as there are serious workers in her various branches whose views are not materialistic to speak of the former set of teachers and their results, no matter what their vogue, as "science" without any discriminating or limiting term. You cannot thus exclude Mivart and Pasteur or a hundred others whose work and views represent evolutionary research just as truly as do the labors of Huxley or Spencer.

A superficial view of Mr. Lang's phraseology might lead one to think his use of the term "science" open to this objection; the careful reader, however, will rather believe his manner of expressing himself intended to serve more effectively his own purpose by leav-

ing the reader to infer for himself that the "popular" results of "science," as well as the "popular" use of the term itself, are both mistakes equally adverse to the best interests of Science in its true sense. Yet all readers are not careful readers, and there is certainly room and reason to call attention to a distinction as real and important as it is often overlooked.

It would be altogether too lengthy a process to take up statement by statement the catena of scientific deductions expressed above and offset each by the numerous facts and legitimate inferences which take the supports from under them and leave naught but a tumbled mass of surmise, assumption and illogical inference. It must suffice to present some examples of savage beliefs in "God" and "Gods" which contradict the elaborate thesis of Huxley, Spencer, Tylor and others in all its essential elements.

II.

Example Number One: The Savages of Terra del Fuego. Admiral Fitzroy, whose account of the visit made to this people by Her Majesty's ship Beagle is our chief source of information, describes their idea of the Deity thus: "A great black man is supposed to be always wandering about the woods and mountains, who is certain of knowing every word and action, who cannot be escaped and who influences the weather according to men's conduct."

This Deity has the following "unscientific" characteristics: First. He is a moral being who makes for righteousness and searches the heart. "His morality is so much above the ordinary savage level that he regards the slaying of a stranger and an enemy caught red-handed in robbery as a sin. York's brother (York was a Fuegian brought to England by Fitzroy) killed a 'wold man' who was stealing his birds. 'Rain came down, snow came down, hail came down, wind blow, blow, very much blow. Very bad to kill man. Big man in the woods no like it; He very much angry.'" Here be ethics in savage religion. Second. "This big man is not a deified chief, for the Fuegians have no superiority of one over another, but the doctor wizard of each party has much influence. Mr. Spencer disposes of this moral 'big man' of the Fuegians as 'evidently a deceased weather-doctor.' But first there is no evidence that the being is regarded as ever having died. Again, it is not shown that Fuegians are ancestor-worshipers. Lastly, were mere medicine men such moralists? The worst spirits among the neighboring Patagonians are those of dead medicine-men. As a rule everywhere the ghost of a 'doctor-wizard,' shaman or whatever he may be called,

is the worst and wickedest of all ghosts. How, then, the Fuegians, who are not proved to be ancestor-worshipers, evolved out of the malignant ghost of an ancestor a being whose strong point is morality one does not easily conceive. The adjacent Chonos 'have great faith in a good spirit, whom they call Yerri Yuppon, and consider to be the author of all good; him they invoke in distress or danger.' However starved, they do not touch food till a short prayer has been muttered over each portion, 'the praying man looking upward.' They have magicians, but no details are given as to spirits or ghosts. If Fuegian and Chono religion is on this level, and if this be the earliest, then the theology of many other higher savages (as of the Zulus) is decidedly degenerate." It may strike the reader inexperienced in ethnological studies that the conception of God as a big, black, non-natural man takes force out of this example; so thought Mathew Arnold in regard to another savage people: the Lippe-land tribes, he wrote, "have no knowledge of God. They believe the Creator was a gigantic black, living among the stars." Mr. Lang effectively answers: "Mr. Mathew Arnold might as well have said 'The British Philistine has no knowledge of God. He believes that the Creator is a magnified, non-natural man, living in the sky.'" However, at the foundation of the inexperienced reader's impression there lies a mistake, to which attention may well be called, for it is also at the bottom of the "scientific" explanation of the origin of the idea of "God." The reader finds fault with the savage's conception because God is conceived of as a "magnified" human being rather than a "spirit;" and the scientist declares that out of the idea of "spirit" developed the idea of "God." Now, as a matter of fact savages had and have the idea of "God" before they had or have the idea of His *specific nature*, and the only term by which they can express this idea is one that implies the presence in it of what is best in man raised to a still greater degree of perfection. Their language is anthropomorphic: "God" is a "man," but an eternal, omniscient, all-powerful, highly moral man, who punishes wrong-doing. What more can be expected of them? As for the scientist, out of short-sighted devotion to a theory he has simply neglected the evidence that goes to show how men in savage conditions thought of a "God" long before they had come to think upon or theorize about the nature of this being. "The question of 'spirit or non-spirit' was not raised at all. We have indeed from childhood been taught that God is a 'spirit.' We now can only conceive of an eternal being as a spirit. We have never remarked that there is no reason why we should take it for granted that the earliest deities of these earliest men were supposed by them to be

'spirits' at all. These gods might be most judiciously spoken of as 'undefined eternal beings.' To us such a being is necessarily a spirit, but he was by no means necessarily such to an early thinker. The savage Supreme Being, with added power, omniscience and morality, is the idealization of the savage, *minus* fleshly body (as a rule) and *minus* Death." Death, anthropologists tell us, is unknown to the savage as a universal ordinance. It came into the world by a blunder, an accident, an error in ritual, a decision of a god who was before death. So the savage god is not necessarily conceived of as being a ghost or developing from one; he was not originally differentiated as "spirit" or "non-spirit." "When we call the Supreme Being of savages a 'spirit,' we introduce our own animistic ideas into a conception where it may not have originally existed."

This subject is of importance and may be borne in mind with advantage in considering what is to follow.

III.

Example Number Two: The Bushmen of Australia. "Of all the races now extant the Australians are probably lowest in culture, and, like the fauna of the continent, are nearest to the primitive model. They have neither metals, bows, pottery, agriculture nor fixed habitations, and no traces of higher culture have anywhere been found above or in the soil of the continent." Among them, if anywhere, popular "science" will find material in support of its thesis; hence their appearance in Mr. Huxley's bold statement that "in its simplest condition *such as may be met with among the Australian blacks*, theology is a mere belief in the existence, powers and dispositions (usually malignant) of ghost-like entities who may be propitiated or scared away; but no cult can properly be said to exist. And in this stage theology is wholly independent of ethics."

"Remarks more crudely in defiance of known facts," comments Mr. Lang, "could not be made," and then he proceeds to give the facts as they come from men who have lived among the Australians.

"The Australians assuredly believe in 'spirits,' often malicious and probably in most cases regarded as ghosts of men; these aid the wizard and occasionally inspire him. That these ghosts are worshiped does not appear and *is denied* by Waitz. Again, in the matter of cult 'there is none' in the way of *sacrifice* to higher Gods," as there should be according to "scientific" theory if these gods were hungry ghosts. "The cult among the Australians is the wor-

ship of the heart, expressed in moral teaching supposed to be in conformity with the institutes of their God. Worship takes the form, as at Eleusis, of tribal mysteries originally instituted, as at Eleusis, by the God. The young men are initiated with many ceremonies, some of which are cruel and farcical, but the initiation includes ethical instruction in conformity with the supposed commands of a God who reads the heart. As among ourselves, the ethical idea, with its theological sanction, is probably rather above the moral standard of ordinary practice. What conclusion we should draw from these facts is uncertain, but the facts at least cannot be disputed, and precisely contradict the statement of Mr. Huxley. He was wholly in the wrong when he said: 'The moral code, such as is implied by public opinion, derives no sanction on such dogmas.' "

One of the most reliable sources of information is a Mr. Howitt, who lived in Australia and whose reports appear in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*. This gentleman, as most "scientific" investigators, starts into his work influenced by the accepted anthropological bias. Hence when he finds a universal belief in a Supreme Being, especially if this belief views Him as a source of punishment, he is all too ready to infer that its origin may be found in the ghost of a "defunct headman." Now, the traces of "headmanship," i. e., acknowledgment of a tribal leader, are extremely faint among these races; "even when found, no such headman rules large areas of country, and so, even living, claims no service from a number of tribes; nor is any such a one known to be worshiped after death; and Mr. Howitt's own statements illustrate not a 'malevolent Being,' but *one who punishes trespasses committed against tribal ordinances and customs*, whose first institution is ascribed to Him;" *Darumulun* is the native appellation of this Supreme Being. The elements of the religion as gathered from Mr. Howitt's experience may be summed up as follows: "Darumulun 'watched the youths from the sky, prompt to punish, by disease or death, the breach of his ordinances,' moral or ritual. His name is too sacred to be spoken except in whispers, and the anthropologist will observe that the names of the human dead are also often tabooed. But the divine name is not thus tabooed and sacred when the mere folklore about him is narrated. The informants of Mr. Howitt instinctively distinguished between the mythology and the religion of Darumulun. This distinction, the secrecy about the religion, the candor about the mythology, is essential, and accounts for our ignorance about the inner religious beliefs of early races. Mr. Howitt himself knew little till he was initiated. Mr. Howitt men-

tions, among moral lessons divinely sanctioned, respect for old age, abstinence from lawless love and avoidance of the sins so popular, poetic, and sanctioned by the example of gods in classical Greece. A representation is made of the Master, Biamban, and to make such idols, except at the Mysteries, is forbidden 'under pain of death.' Those which are made are destroyed as soon as the rites are ended. The future life (apparently) is then illustrated by the burial of the living elder, who rises from a grave. This may, however, symbolize the 'new life' of the *Mystæ*, 'Worse have I fled; better have I found,' as was sung in an Athenian rite. The whole result is, by what Mr. Howitt calls 'a quasi-religious element,' to 'impress upon the mind of the youth, in an indelible manner, those rules of conduct which form the moral law of the tribe.'

"Many other authorities could be adduced for the religious sanction of morals in Australia. An all-knowing being observes and rewards the conduct of men; he is named with reverence, if named at all; his abode is the heavens; he is the Maker and Lord of things; his lessons 'soften the heart.' "

Surely in presence of these facts there is excuse for the author's quaint quotation:

"What wants this knave
That a *God* should have?"

The effect of this outline of Australian religion is heightened by the author's report that its mysteries are actually used "to counteract the immoral character which natives acquire by associating with Anglo-Saxon Christians. Mr. Howitt gives an account of the *Jeræil*, or Mysteries of the Kurnai. The old men deemed that through intercourse with the whites 'the lads had become selfish and no longer inclined to share that which they obtained by their own exertions or had given them with their friends.' One need not say that selflessness is the very essence of goodness and the central moral doctrine of Christianity. So it is in the religious Mysteries of the African Yao; a selfish man, we shall see, is spoken of as 'uninitiated.' So it is with the Australian Kurnai, whose mysteries and ethical teaching are under the sanction of their Supreme Being. So much for the anthropological dogma that early theology has no ethics."

After describing the ceremony Mr. Lang summarizes the precepts the young man is expected to observe:

- "1. To obey the old. (Fifth Commandment.)
- "2. To share with all their friends. (Do to others as you would have others do to you.)
- "3. To live peaceably with their friends.

"4. Not to interfere with girls or married women. (Seventh Commandment.)

"5. To obey the food restrictions. (*Leviticus, passim.*)"

Mr. Howitt concludes: "I venture to assert that it can no longer be maintained that the Australians have no belief which can be called religious, that is, in the sense of beliefs which govern tribal and individual morality under a supernatural sanction." On this topic Mr. Howitt's opinion became more affirmative the more deeply he was initiated.

Truly the religion of those most primitive savages, in which morality and reverence are conspicuous elements, with no propitiation of food or purely magical rites to remotely justify the idea that their God was a ghost; with its prohibition of even making His image except under most solemn circumstances, and then to serve a temporary purpose; truly this actual religion of the Bushmen is out of joint with that which "science" accredits to them; and surely there is something wrong with "scientific" methods that permit Mr. Spencer and Mr. Huxley to ignore facts which throw a light very different from theirs on what they consider "the simplest condition of theology." "In its highest aspect that 'simplest theology' of Australia is free from the faults of popular theology in Greece. The God discourages sin; he does not set the example of sinning. He is almost too sacred to be named (except in mythology), and far too sacred to be represented by idols. He is not moved by sacrifice; he has not the chance; like Death in Greece, 'he only of all Gods, loves not gifts.' Thus the status of theology does not correspond to the status in material and intellectual culture. It would scarcely be a paradox to say that the popular Zeus, or Ares, is degenerate from Darumulun, or the Fuegian being who forbids the slaying of an enemy, and almost literally 'marks the sparrow's fall.'"

An explanation of the mistake fallen into by these scientists is suggested by Mr. Lang, and as his remarks have a universal bearing they deserve attentive consideration:

"If we knew all the mythology of Darumulun, we should probably find it (like much of the myth of Pundjel or Bunjil) on a very different level from the theology. There are two currents, the religious and the mythical, flowing together through religion. The former current, religious, even among very low savages, is pure from the magical ghost propitiating habit. The latter current, mythological, is full of magic, mummery and scandalous legend. Sometimes the latter stream quite pollutes the former, sometimes they flow side by side, perfectly distinguishable, as in Aztec ethical piety, compared with the bloody Aztec ritualism. Anthropology

has mainly kept her eyes fixed on the impure stream, the lusts, mummeries, conjurings and frauds of priesthoods, while relatively, or altogether, neglecting (as we have shown) what is honest and of good report.

"The worse side of religion is the less sacred, and therefore the more conspicuous. Both elements are found co-existing in almost all races, and nobody, in our total lack of historical information about the beginnings, can say which, if either, element is the earlier, or which, if either, is derived from the other. To suppose that propitiation of corpses and then of ghosts came first is agreeable and seems logical to some writers who are not without a bias against all religion as an unscientific superstition. But we know so little! The first missionaries in Greenland supposed that there was not there a trace of belief in a Divine Being. 'But when they came to understand their language better they found quite the reverse to be true . . . and not only so, but they could plainly gather from a free dialogue they had with some perfectly wild Greenlanders (avoiding any direct application to their hearts) that their ancestors must have believed in a Supreme Being, and did render Him some service, which their posterity neglected little by little.' . . . Mr. Tylor does not refer to this as a trace of Christian Scandinavian influence on the Eskimo.

"That line, of course, may be taken. But an Eskimo said to a missionary, 'Thou must not imagine that no Greenlander thinks about these things' (theology). He then stated the argument from design. 'Certainly there must be some Being who made all these things. He must be very good, too. . . . Ah, did I but know him, how I would love and honor him.' As St. Paul writes: 'That which may be known of God is manifest in them, for God hath showed it unto them . . . being understood by the things which are made . . . but they became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened.' In fact, mythology submerged into religion." People, says St. Paul, "reached the belief in a God from the Argument for Design. Science conceives herself to have annihilated teleological ideas. But they are among the probable origins of religion, and would lead to the belief in a Creator whom the Greenlander thought beneficent, and after whom he yearned. This is a very different initial step in religious development, if initial it was, from the feeding of a corpse or a ghost.

"From all this evidence it does not appear how non-polytheistic, non-monarchical, non-Manes-worshipping savages evolved the idea of a relatively supreme, moral and benevolent Creator, unborn, undying, omniscient and omnipresent. 'He can go everywhere and do everything.'"

IV.

Would you have another illustration of how completely the actual condition of religion among savages belies the "scientific" formulæ? "The case of the Andaman Islanders may be especially recommended to believers in the anthropological science of religion. For long these natives were the joy of emancipated inquirers as the 'godless Andamanese.' They only supply Mr. Spencer's 'Ecclesiastical Institutions' with a few instances of the ghost belief. Yet when the Andamanese are scientifically studied *in situ* by an educated Englishman, Mr. Man, who knows their language, has lived with them for eleven years and presided over our benevolent efforts 'to reclaim them from their savage state,' the Andamanese turn out to be quite embarrassingly rich in the higher elements of faith. They have not only a profoundly philosophical religion, but an excessively absurd mythology, like the Australian blacks, the Greeks and other peoples. If, on the whole, the student of the Andamanese despairs of the possibility of an ethnological theory of religion, he is hardly to be blamed."

Once more an aspect of anthropological study of religion that has hitherto been entirely overlooked is forced upon us. The esoteric moral and religious teachings of ancient and savage beliefs are nearly unknown to us, save in a few instances. "It is certain that the mysteries of Greece were survivals of savage ceremonies, because we know that they included specific savage rites, such as the use of the rhombos to make a whirring noise, and the custom of ritual daubing with dirt, and the sacred ballets d'action, in which, as Lucian and Qing say, mystic facts are 'danced out.' But, while Greece retained these relics of savagery, there was something taught at Eleusis which filled minds like Plato's and Pindar's with a happy religious awe. Now, similar 'softening of the heart' was the result of the teaching in the Australian Bora: The Yao mysteries inculcate the victory over self; and, till we are admitted to the secrets of all other savage mysteries throughout the world, we cannot tell whether, among mummeries, frivolities and even license, high ethical doctrines are not presented under the sanction of religion. The new life, and perhaps the future life, are undeniably indicated in the Australian mysteries by the simulated resurrection.

"I would therefore no longer say, as in 1887, that the Hellenic genius must have added to 'an old medicine dance' all that the Eleusinian mysteries possessed of beauty, counsel and consolation. These elements, as well as the barbaric factors in the rites, may have been developed out of such savage doctrine as softens the hearts of Australians and Yaos. That this kind of doctrine receives re-

ligious sanction is certain, where we know the secret of savage mysteries. It is therefore quite incorrect and strangely presumptuous to deny, with almost all anthropologists, the alliance of ethics with religion among the most backward races. We must always remember their secrecy about their inner religion, their frankness about their mythological tales. These we know: the inner religion we ought to begin to recognize that we do not know."

Examples of uncouth peoples, in whose beliefs marked distinctions are drawn between "gods" who were once men and "gods" who were never in ordinary human conditions and could not have been developed from "ghosts" are not wanting in Mr. Lang's book. Neither may the scientist retort that "if savages did not invent gods in consequence of a fallacious belief in spirit and soul, still, in some other equally illogical way they came to indulge the hypothesis that they had a Judge and Father in heaven. But, if the ghost theory of the high gods is wrong, as it is conspicuously superfluous, that does make some difference. It proves that a widely preached scientific conclusion may be as spectral as Bathybius." And the same conclusions must be arrived at in regard to each and all of the other pronouncements with which "science" has cumbered investigation and hindered accurate knowledge in a field of research, where, if anywhere, there was eminent need of the utmost exactness and conservatism in sifting premises and arriving at conclusions.

Much as Mr. Lang's work deserves commendation from certain points of view, it has withal its weaker aspects, and these may not escape criticism.

The problem of "spirit" or "soul;" its existence, the original idea of it, etc.: this problem demands for anything like adequate treatment an educational accoutrement superior to that exhibited by Mr. Lang.

Adequate treatment is possible only to him who has exhausted the resources of science in this field of study. What are these resources?

First. One should have a specialist's acquaintance with that body of thought which first attempted an exact definition of the soul, its nature, powers and manner of action, namely, the philosophy of Greece, particularly the systems of Aristotle and Plato, and their later development under the efforts of the scholastics. Through this knowledge one becomes familiar with the philosophic idea of soul and the essential qualities which are supposed to differentiate it and its acts from matter and the various forms of material activity.

Secondly. Having thus realized the conception of spirit, reached

by the learned Past, the authoritative teacher of the Present should know how the Past's conclusions have been upset, modified or confirmed by that sphere of psychological research, which approaches the soul and its operations through its tenement or machine of clay, the body; he should, in other words, have served his apprenticeship in the laboratory. He must have realized from personal observation and legitimate experiment how in the actual human compound (in its various stages of growth, modification and metamorphosis, through nerves and muscles, brain and blood) that which is in man, mental and moral as well as physical, makes evident its action and its complicated diversity of nature. Thus acquainted with the facts of man's composition from its fleshly manifestation, the method and course of the soul's operation through its material accompaniment can be diagnosed, and that in human action which eludes the grip of laboratory, experiment and explanation, can be entered in a column by itself, thence to be taken into account when a statement is prepared of just what Science and Metaphysics, apart from Revelation, can or cannot authoritatively state as to the existence and nature of a two-fold element in man's constitution.

Thirdly. With the results achieved from this two-fold previous investigation well in hand, another step can be taken. The authenticated actual abnormal and preternormal manifestations of the "spirit" element in man: second-sight, telepathy, crystal-gazing, the facts of fetishism, spiritualism, demoniacal possession, etc.; this latest territory added to the scientific domain, psychical research, can be explored; rather the exploration may be inaugurated, for, because of its vastness, it must remain for years in a rudimentary stage. The new results thus gathered should be added to those previously arrived at; and those previous ones corrected or interpreted, as the case may be, in the light of the additional knowledge gleaned.

Fourthly. Before a categorical word can be said, defining the origin and progress of the idea of "spirit" in the case of any primitive people, the teacher who would speak with authority must possess an accurate and also a comprehensive acquaintance with the general laws of philology, besides being familiar with one or two of the languages of that section of the human family whose psychology he professes to explain; this requirement is absolute, for as words express thought, so a language is the record of thought's development and change. You cannot know the primitive views of a people, after scientific standards, about "soul," "God" or anything else, without understanding by what analogies and through what word formations these notions found abiding place among them. Let it be added that a necessary element of this language study,

through which you get at a nation's thought-concept, is historical appreciation of the conditions, environment and changes in which the destiny of the people was, or is being, accomplished.

A work characterized by a combination of the knowledge just described, metaphysical, biological, psychical and historico-philological, with this knowledge carefully digested, judiciously arranged, and kept entirely clear of prejudice, special pleading or misstatement, such a work may be conceived of as an ideal of scientific attainment, and one may, naturally and reasonably, expect it to be characterized by a certain degree of categorical enunciation of general law; its conclusions, moreover, within the sphere it covers, may not be lightly questioned. By so much, however, as a scientific work lacks one or more of the elements of this essential and varied information, by that much is its treatment of necessity inadequate and its authority doubtful.

Applying this test to the work of Mr. Lang, or if you will to that of Huxley, Spencer, Tylor and their popular exponents, the limited reliability of their results is apparent at a glance. Not one of them, if true to the accepted principles of correct Science, had either right or title to promulgate a final and categorical conclusion about the origin and development of the idea of "spirit;" Science is not at present in possession of the requisite facts; it is a problem if she ever will be.

Of Mr. Lang's work in particular it needs be said that its dicta have been formulated without any special familiarity with either biology, philology, or the history of the nations whose religions are reviewed, and with only a superficial acquaintance with the systems of philosophy whose methods are rather speculative than experimental. The author is, indeed, a writer of rare finish, a past master in literary criticism, gifted with that accomplishment of hard sense and dialectic acuteness peculiarly characteristic of the Celt; withal his ken of the methods and results of the Society for Psychical Research plus a general course of reading in that restricted field of ethnology covered by the reports and narratives of travelers, discoverers and students of "primitive" peoples, do not constitute him an authoritative guide in the "Science of Religion." He is fitted to pick out, and this he has done effectually, some of the more evident flaws in the efforts of others, but he is sure to make and overlook his own. His work must be rated accordingly: that of a moderately equipped amateur.

Illustrating Mr. Lang's shortcomings is his very unsatisfactory treatment of "sacrifice." To his mind the fundamental notion of sacrifice was to feed ravenous "spirits;" it originated with ancestor or "ghost" worship; came late into religion, and its application to

the Supreme Being was a result of degeneration in the primal savage concept of Him. If people had not come to getting the idea of "spirit" mixed up with the idea of "God," they would never have thought of sacrifices to the latter.

What ground has he for the view he so positively iterates and reiterates? No better than that the satisfactoriness of which in previous instances he unreservedly rejects.

1. He notes the omission of explicit testimony to sacrifice offerings by savages to the Being they conceive of as Supreme, in the imperfect accounts of some travelers; he accepts this omission as tantamount to a proof that among these people there was no sacrificial worship. "There are no traces of propitiation by food, or sacrifice, or anything but conduct" in Admiral Fitzroy's account of Fuegian religion; therefore, concludes Mr. Lang, no such worship exists in it. The conclusion is too big for the premises. Fitzroy's limited knowledge of the Fuegian religion is one thing, the non-existence of sacrifice in it another, and you may not logically conclude from the former to the latter. Fitzroy's knowledge of this savage cult was certainly small and his logic in commenting upon it unreliable. For example, he thought the Fuegians had no idea of a future state, "because, among other reasons given, 'the evil spirit torments them in this world, if they do wrong, by storms, hail, snow, etc.'" Because a man fears punishment for evil deeds in this life, must it inexorably follow that he has no belief in a future one?

2. He limits the word sacrifice to suit his own thesis; he assumes that sacrifice means a food offering; yet investigators know that among "primitive" peoples offerings are frequently made of things that in nowise may be conceived of as "food;" for example, of clippings of the hair, parings of the nails, etc.

3. Facts presented by Mr. Lang are against his theory. In certain instances Supreme Beings do receive sacrificial worship from savages among whom no trace of ancestor worship is to be found. "It is notable that in this religion," that of the Pawnees, "we hear nothing of ancestor worship; we find the cult of an all-powerful being, in whose ritual sacrifice is the only feature that suggests ghost worship." You see the author's assumption: sacrifice must suggest ghost worship! In other heathen religions where a distinct line is drawn between "ghosts," souls of ancestors and "beings" who never were in human flesh, sacrifice is offered to the latter as well as to the former. This fact is exemplified among the Banks Islanders and the Fijis. Mr. Lang's explanation is that the worship originally given to the former was, in the course of time, transferred to the latter; but he presents no historical evidence to

show either that sacrifice originated with the worship of ghosts or that the transference assumed ever took place.

The author's general thesis would have been strengthened had he adopted another view: one more in harmony with his premise maintaining the degeneration of the original idea of God: the view that not only did this latter idea degenerate, but *also the concept of sacrifice*. He would thus have been brought more into harmony with scholars who maintain that the basis of the sacrificial system was, in some instances, a recognition of the Divine ownership of human life, and in others an act of communion or union with the tribal Divinity. Once and again, moreover, Mr. Lang harps on our ignorance of the "mysteries" of barbarian beliefs. What a pity he did not let this ignorance mitigate his positiveness about the origin of sacrifice.

A like criticism applies to his views upon priesthood, the origin and development of which he seems to attribute solely to greed and craft. These instincts have, indeed, in too many instances played sad havoc with priestly institutions; but to attribute to them the production of this universal characteristic of religious life is absurd. The assumption makes little of the natural shrewdness of even "primitive" races, and makes us ask why the men reputed to have originated these institutions, men so keen in duping their fellows, were not clever enough to cast the priest's life in pleasanter lines. How comes it that in "primitive" beliefs the priest is quite generally cut off from ordinary comforts, leads a life of hardship, endures fasting and physical torture, and is, all in all, one of the saddest-lived men, from a popular point of view, that you can well conceive of?

Other points, and not a few, in Mr. Lang's work would justify further criticism and dissent. Thus he writes: "On the hypothesis here offered to criticism there are two chief sources of Religion, (1) the belief, how attained we know not, in a powerful, moral, eternal, omniscient Father and Judge of men; (2) the belief (probably developed out of experiences normal and supernormal) in somewhat of man which may survive the grave." Would it be unreasonable to mention explicitly a third element, the possible direct revelation of Himself by a Supreme Being? True, there is room for such a supposition in explaining the given terms of the two previous propositions; but in view of the fact that religions as a general thing lay stress on such a revelation as explaining their own origin, in view of this fact, would it not be more logical to make the claim a subject of separate inquiry?

And now we have done with this rather ambitious volume. All in all the book, notwithstanding its burden of accurate information

and trenchant observation and comment, is one of such manifest imperfection that its effect is apt to be neither deep nor lasting. The name of the author will, no doubt, give it a vogue among some who follow with interest his efforts in behalf of Psychical Research and who admire his literary talent; but for the mass of readers its contents are too scientific, while for specialists it is not scientific enough. In these pages it has served the useful purpose of bringing to clerical attention aspects of theological problems infrequently dealt with at any length in text books of theology, but which, more and more, are beginning to occupy the investigations of serious and learned men. Besides, its study justifies, from a natural point of view, the very helpful conclusion that "science" as ordinarily understood is not near so sure of its apodictical utterances as at first sight might appear; and that, under Providence, the times may dawn—and this not so remotely—when Religion will begin to come into its own again.

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ON ANGLICAN CONVENTS.

THIS is written chiefly with a view to enable Catholics to better understand, sympathize with, and if occasion offer, help those who to the Catholic mind seem the strangest of strange anomalies—Anglican sisters or nuns. Catholics frequently think and say: "When they have come so far, how can they be in good faith where they are? Obviously they are engaged in copying our systems and adopting our methods; why cannot they give up imitation and seek the reality, which they so evidently admire? Why do they attempt to graft shoots plucked from our living vine on to their barren and lifeless branch, lopped off three centuries ago from the parent stem? Can they expect these to bear good fruit for God when separated from their source and life? What folly it all seems, so illogical and inconsistent!"

Well, perhaps when it is considered that in nearly all cases the Anglican "sister" has been born and bred in a system given to compromise, indefiniteness and a latitudinarianism which it styles "comprehensiveness," they will cease to regard *her* as an illogical sham, although her *position* is certainly of that nature. It is quite another thing to see one's position clearly when one has been

brought up in it from seeing it from an outside and independent quarter. In her eclecticism, spirit, belief and practice she is but the legitimate and logical outcome of the human institution to which she belongs.

Beginning in a very humble way about the middle of this century, these sisterhoods rapidly increased in numbers and prosperity until at this present day they form a very considerable and prominent section of the Anglican body. Primarily the object of all of them is the sanctification of the individual members; and in nearly all cases secondarily, the salvation and charitable aid of the poor, the sinful and the suffering. They profess one principal intention in all they do, and to use the very words of one of their handbooks, it is this: "All for God; His greater glory and more perfect love." An intention which it would be impossible to improve upon.

Those who enter these sisterhoods are for the most part devout women, taken from every class of society, ardently desirous of serving and glorifying God through the sanctification of their own souls and the benefaction of their neighbor. They have been nurtured in the distinct prejudices and vague beliefs and teachings of Anglicanism, and, therefore, whilst they recoil with horror from the thought of joining the church which all along the ages has provided her children with abundant means of holiness, and of serving God in evangelical perfection, they do not hesitate to borrow, adopt and adapt the rules, customs and organization framed by Catholic saints for the institutions and children of the Catholic Church. And they do this in perfect good faith, thinking they are choosing what is good from all and rejecting the "corruptions." They do not even attempt to conceal that they are forever borrowing from the church, their garb being one outward token of it, but in the instructions given to their novices they take a singular pleasure in relating how this part of their constitutions is taken from the rule of this old Catholic order, and another part from that Catholic congregation, and various customs chosen at random from many scattered convents, wherever the wanderings of the particular founder have led him. The result is, of course, somewhat incongruous, but that is to them a mere detail, and by no means interferes with their pleasure in carrying out their rule, which they consider is bound to be very good, since it is taken from so many holy sources. There are some few among the sisterhoods more original than this, but they unfortunately are more distinguished in customs, dress, etc., for eccentricity than good sense.

Also the books put into the hands of novices to instruct them in the life they are to lead—as far as our experience goes—are en-

tirely Catholic: the works—lives of Catholic saints—writings of Jesuits, Benedictines, Franciscans, etc. The books of devotion used by the higher Church Sisters are nearly all Catholic, or adaptations of Catholic manuals. The offices, which most of them recite in English, are translations (with some omissions) from the Church's breviary, either according to the Sarum or Roman use. In some of their chapels they have discarded the "communion service" of the Anglican "Prayer Book" and have adopted the "Scotch office," as containing higher doctrine, and in a few instances even that does not satisfy, so they use a translation of the beautiful Sarum rite. One of the High-church convents has also been "trying and praying for years to obtain the privilege of reservation of the Blessed Sacrament in our chapel," as the "reverend prioress" writes; whilst others, more determined or perhaps diplomatic, have already had this (as they believe) for many years. This, however, is kept as a sort of open secret, and a curtain screens off the eastern chapel, where the Sisters take it in turn to watch before it. Others, more openly regardless of the powers that be, make no attempt at concealment, burning the lamp before the tabernacle in full view of any one who chooses to go in to look. In some points several of them even outdo their model, as they reserve in both kinds, and not content with using incense at "high celebrations," Lauds, Vespers and on festivals at Solemn Matins, they also have it at Low Mass, offered by a server during the elevation. Vestments, banners and processions in honor of the Blessed Sacrament, Our Lady and the saints they have, too; confessionals and holy water, and in a few cases even holy oils. There is hardly any outward point of Catholic practice that some of them have not adopted.

It is true that the tenets of the whole Anglican body, as found in the thirty-nine articles, and also the opinions of a large and influential section of its living members utterly condemn these practices, as well as the doctrines of which they are the outcome and exponent. The Twenty-second Article pronounces the doctrines of purgatory, invocation of saints, etc., to be "A fond thing, vainly invented, with no warranty of Scripture;" the Twenty-fifth declares that "The doctrine of seven sacraments is a corrupt following of the Apostles;" the Thirty-first asserts that "The Sacrifice of Masses is a blasphemous fable and dangerous deceit." Yet, marvelous as it seems in the face of this, there are thousands of Anglicans who daily pray for the dead and have Masses (as they imagine) said for them; who invoke the saints, believe in seven sacraments, offer the holy sacrifice as they say and think and keep watch before their God (as they fancy) in the Blessed Sacrament.

There is even an Anglican convent where it is customary for the reverend mother to say: "Let us pray for our Holy Father"—if any one present were so deluded as to imagine her filial devotion to be meant for "Archbishop" Temple, she would be presently enlightened by the next exhortation: "My dear Sisters, let us try to gain all the indulgences which our Holy Father has attached to this devotion!" Then would follow the Rosary, or Stations of the Cross.

If we have not experienced some such state of mind ourselves, we shall probably say that it is morally impossible for people to come so far towards Catholicism and yet be in good faith as Anglicans. But those who have come through it know that it is often so. It is true that as far as externals are concerned they are near, but the whole inward principle of their belief and practice is totally opposed to that of the Catholic. They believe certain Catholic doctrines, or almost all of them, as the case may be, because their individual judgment has approved and chosen them as right and worthy of belief; the Catholic by virtue of divine faith accepts *all* that the mouthpiece of the Holy Ghost proposes to him for belief, because he knows that God can neither deceive nor be deceived, since He is truth essential and uncreate. With the Anglicans the habitual effort to reconcile the mind's natural ideas of truth and unity with the presence of a host of antagonistic doctrines and contrarieties of practice, existing and tolerated side by side within the pale of Anglicanism (to say nothing of the rank infidelity therein rife) produces bewilderment, and gradually dulls the perceptions so that it is very hard to see how untenable and inconsistent is the position. Anglican Sisters have been brought up to regard the *State Establishment* as a "branch" or "continuation" of Christ's Church, and therefore they feel bound as loyal children to whitewash its contradictions by attributing them to its "comprehensiveness and Catholicity." But they do not really feel satisfied with this excuse, and make further efforts to resolve the discord into harmony by the theory that it is the result of the indefinite teaching of the Broad and Low-church parties so long in ascendency, and they imagine that in time *their* teaching will counterbalance this evil. They do not and—unless God show it them—they *cannot* see that this is equal to saying: "God is a teacher of falsehood as well as truth, but *we* hope in time to make truth prevail." Yet so obviously is this their proposition that one lucid moment would suffice to show it them. Christ commands us to hear His Church, saying: "He that heareth you, heareth Me." God cannot err; therefore, if we say: "The Church can err," we make Him a liar, when He says to her: "He that heareth *you*, heareth Me." In the office of *teaching*, God here by His al-

mighty word identifies Himself with His Church; therefore, if we say the Church can and has erred, we make God a teacher of false doctrine. Also, if the Church *can* err, God might just as well have told us to "hear ourselves." These and other such blasphemies, embodied in practice and masquerading in the garb and spoils of Christ's Church, do not look quite so wolfish as they are, more especially to those who have been brought up to respect them. So, generally speaking, these Anglican Sisters are not only in "good faith," but we might even call it sublime faith, so high does it rise above all the contradictions, inconsistencies and turmoils of this city of confusion, and with perfect confidence they live on in a state of waiting and watching for "everything to come right!" Yes, these devout but mistaken souls expect that if they only pray and have patience enough, chaos will miraculously resolve itself into order, and the shifting sands of Anglicanism consolidate themselves into the rock of the unity and Catholicism of Christ's visible Church. They wait for it, they work for it, they expect it, and so they will go on till the bitter end, unless, as happened to some of them, by God's special mercy a ray of divine light pierce the mists of gloom and confusion surrounding them and enable them to see how preposterous is their position, and how hopeless, and direct them, as by the Star of Bethlehem, to the one true fold. This ray is the *gift* of faith, and this it is, and nothing else, that makes all the difference. It is not given to some, so we can never judge those who remain behind, as if they had rejected it. And those who have been vouchsafed it do not receive it till a certain point or crisis in their soul's life, when suddenly all things are seen in a new and supernatural light, obscure, yet certain, so that they believe without any doubt that the Catholic Church is the one only divine teacher of truth to all nations, as appointed by Christ. This accepted, all, of course, follows. Up to that moment all was vagueness and confusion; no certitude to give security to belief, no point of rest on which to stay the soul. Nothing but the endless torture of seeking for truth and the awful responsibility of personally deciding for or against it. But now, by God's infinite grace, what a change! All gropings in that horror of darkness over for ever. No more searching, doubting, questioning, comparing, deciding by each individual member his own peculiar tenets, but only a simple, childlike acceptance of creed and doctrine from the mouth of our Holy Mother the Church! "Except ye become as little children, ye shall in no wise enter therein." Why should the poor soul travail in birth with its creed when our Mother has done it all for it already? Has she not—this ancient, glorious Mother—gravely, learnedly and, above all—oh, joy to the poor storm-tossed soul!—*infallibly* searched into, sifted and

taught the majestic truths of God for well nigh nineteen centuries? At last it sees and knows that the keystone connecting and sustaining the whole fabric of the arch of theology and doctrine is no other than this divine infallibility. *With* it fitted in the centre all the truths, dogmas and mysteries of faith form a beautiful and symmetrical arch; *without* it, they fall to the ground a shapeless heap of ruins.

To many, however, this wondrous gift and blessing is not granted, and they toil on in their perplexities, hoping against hope for the dawn of better things, until death comes along and hales them to a different arena. It is sad to think of them; but still many of them have been in good faith, and now their day of enlightenment has begun, though in a state where they can no longer merit by correspondence with grace. Some of these souls have had reasonable doubts of their religion, too, which they ought to have followed up, only they foolishly consulted their blind leaders, who, of course, said such doubts were plain temptations and delusions of the devil, and so to be resisted and put down. Others (and there has been a whole community in this case) have come far beyond doubts and have actually reached the certitude of faith; but, alas for them, their chaplain and confessor remained still in the outer darkness and would not permit them to follow their conscience. He was a good man according to his light, and conscientiously did what he thought to be right in hindering them from following that which he believed to be a temptation. The Sisters considered themselves bound to yield to his persuasion and authority, and gave up for the time at least all thoughts of doing what they knew was their duty; and who knows if the moment of grace ever returned? The Anglican labyrinth is indeed dark and full of windings and mazes, and happy is he who, finding the clue, follows it straightway out into the light of day.

The tendency of these Sisterhoods with regard to discipline and works of penance is in most instances towards the side of austerity. Confession is conducted in so rigid and inquisitorial a manner as to become a perfect torture and a chief means of discouragement to conscientious souls. What they pay most attention to is a minute and laborious exactitude in noting down all the memory can gather from an anxious and morbid self-introspection, the confessor adding not a little to the poor soul's already strained scrupulosity by his probings and zest for circumstantial detail. There are exceptions to this, of course, as some men have naturally more wisdom than others; but what I have said is the prevailing tendency, as gathered from our own experience and that of many others.

The enclosed convents only (and they are few) practice corporal

austerities, and in one of them at least fasting is greatly overdone, and, at the caprice of the superior, other penitential exercises also. They obtain their instruments of penance from various—often Catholic sources, and Pusey, talking of some he had procured from abroad, calls them “Nice religious-looking things!” They have rather curious ideas as to appropriate occasions for using them, too. Some Anglican nuns being once in a quandary as to where they could get disciplines, sent one of their number out in quest of them. In the course of her search she came to a large convent belonging to one of the Catholic austere orders, and there she confided to the portress with great simplicity that her convent’s feast fell on the morrow, and she had been sent out to seek for disciplines, because they were all going to take it in the morning during “Mass!” It was perhaps as well she did not obtain her request there, for Anglicans have not the wisdom and moderation of the Church to guide them in the use of these things, nor yet the teaching of experience to fall back upon, and then the modern constitution is not made of iron.

The active Sisterhoods seek their mortifications chiefly in their work, and certainly they find them there. The charitable works upon which they are engaged are of all kinds and too many to be fully enumerated here. Through these the constant and self-sacrificing labors of the Sisters do much to alleviate the misery and degradation of multitudes of their fellow-creatures. They do these works, as we have already stated, from the very highest motives, and not as mere acts of philanthropy. And that they are unable to do better still is their misfortune and not their fault. As they have not the true faith themselves, of course they cannot successfully instruct the ignorant in the way of life; but as any religion and worship of God is better than none, they can do much to improve the condition of many even in this respect. Apart from their mission school work—which is extensive—they have catechism classes conducted by the Sisters for children of all ages from infants upwards. And they admit children of any creed, provided their parents allow them to attend, so that in any places where indifferentism prevails, as amongst the poor Presbyterians of Scotland, the Anglicans, or, what is the same thing, the Scotch Episcopalian (so-called), make converts in wholesale numbers as soon as the children they have taught arrive at a responsible age. This is a very great boon to these poor neglected ones, as they have some idea of religious duty impressed upon them; a high standard of morality set up among them; and their intercourse with these good Sisters insensibly softens their roughness of character and manner and, in short, generally civilizes them. Then they have homes for

girls who, having just left school, are beginning to work for themselves, and thus they get hold of them at the most dangerous ages—from 14 to 21, and even older than this if there be any necessity. There is an effort made to make these homes self-supporting, but that is quite secondary to the main object, which is to prevent as far as possible these young workers from yielding to the many temptations that beset them in the factories, laundries and other places of work in our large cities and manufacturing districts. If it can be managed, they are required to come home for meals, the Sister in charge seeing the employers about it if necessary to arrange it, and their evenings are made as bright and happy for them as can be that they may have no reasonable excuse to seek amusement abroad. Every now and then some special pleasure is planned for them. If it is a dance, each girl is allowed to ask some respectable young man of her acquaintance; the list of those to be invited being inspected and approved by the Sister in charge, who, through the knowledge of one of her Sisters in charge of the youths' classes and amusements, knows very well whether they are admissible or not.

For youths of the same ages they have halls where they hold classes—Bible, church history or secular—for part of the evening, and games, drill, gymnastics, fencing, boxing or what is very attractive to Scotch lads, dancing lessons, afterwards. Of course, the aid of世俗 has to be called in for these things, and in England it is not so usual to have dancing for the lads, as English boys have not the inborn love of that exercise that there is in the Scotch. The great object in all that is done being to keep them off the streets after work hours.

The youths' amusements are given gratuitously, but the girls who live in the homes pay a small board in proportion to what they earn, the young half-timers paying a merely nominal sum just to teach them self-respect. The good Sisters are often in sore straits to make ends meet; but when the worst comes to the worst, they beg for their work and always get enough to go on with.

The visiting of the poor in their own homes and in hospitals is done for two ends. Firstly, to keep the people up to their religious duties by showing a kindly interest in them and their welfare, and, secondly, in order to relieve any cases of extreme suffering or misery they may come across as far as may be by counsel, food, clothing, medicine or money, according to the exigencies of the case. The whole district in which they live is divided amongst the Sisters, and each makes a regular round as often as she can, going daily only to such as are sick or helpless. At regular intervals there is a district meeting held, at which each Sister gives a report of her people

in presence of the chaplain and his curates, who take note of anything that requires looking into or attention from themselves.

Other Sisterhoods do rescue work, but we do not know their methods, nor what measure of success attends them.

Others nurse in hospitals and try to utilize the time of sickness to benefit the souls of the sick and sad, and then they send them off to convalescent homes, maintained in connection with them, at some country or seaside place.

Some of them have homes for incurables, where all sorts of piteous and loathsome cases are brought to them by the poor, and the good Sisters spend their lives in nursing, tending and teaching these helpless creatures for the love of God.

Some have homes for poor children, who, having been taken before the Magistrate for small delinquencies, are confided to their care for some years. They have homes, too, for children whose parents are cruel, and thus unfit to have charge of their offspring.

Others keep crêches in poor districts for the babies and tiny children of working people, and not infrequently have them left on their hands, when after a time they are drafted off to one of their orphanages and there brought up, taught and trained for domestic service or other useful work.

In all these and other works their noble disinterestedness, self-sacrifice and patience are beyond all praise. And what they accomplish in spite of discouragement, difficulties and failures, and without the special aids and graces of the sacraments, is a noteworthy monument to the glory of the grace of God, which overflows so abundantly His own appointed channels. They have so great a zeal for God that, although it is not according to knowledge, the blessing of our good God will surely rest on them for it and bring many of them home to the fold of the true Church, where by divine faith He will lead them into the green pastures of sound doctrine and by the living waters of the true sacraments. Oh, dear, blood-bought sheep, can there be any other than this one fold? Did not God say, speaking of His *visible* Church: "There shall be one fold and one Shepherd?" Did He not pray: "That they *all* may be one, as thou, Father, in Me and I in Thee; that they also may be one in us; that the *world may believe* that thou hast sent Me?" Shall He speak and His word come to naught? Shall He pray and not effect? God avert the thought. He *has* said, and it *is* done.

J. S.

LEO XIII. ON ECCLESIASTICAL STUDIES.

To Our Venerable Brothers the Archbishops, Bishops and Clergy of France.

VENERABLE BROTHERS, DEARLY BELOVED SONS: Since the day we were raised to the Pontifical Chair France has been ever the object to us of a special solicitude and affection. For from her God, in the unfathomable designs of His mercy over the world, has in the course of ages by preference chosen Apostolic men destined to preach the true faith to the limits of the globe, and to carry the light of the Gospel to the nations yet plunged in the darkness of paganism. He predestined her to be the defender of His Church and the instrument of His great works: *Gesta Dei per Francos.*

Obviously this high mission entails duties many and grave. Wishing, like our predecessors, to see France faithfully fulfil the glorious mandate wherewith she has been entrusted, we have on several occasions during our long pontificate addressed to her our advice, our encouragement, our exhortations. This we did in a special way in our Encyclical Letter of February 8, 1884, *Nobilissima Gallorum Gens*, and in our letter of February 16, 1892, published in French and beginning with the words: "*Au milieu des sollicitudes.*" Our words were not without fruit, and we know from you, Venerable Brothers, that a large portion of the French people ever holds in honor the faith of their ancestors and faithfully observes the obligations it imposes. On the other hand, it could not escape us that the enemies of this holy faith have not been idle and have succeeded in banishing every religious principle from a large number of families, which, in consequence, live in lamentable ignorance of revealed truth, and in complete indifference to all that concerns their spiritual interests and the salvation of their souls.

While therefore with good reason we congratulate France on being a focus of apostolic work among nations destitute of the faith, we are also bound to encourage the efforts of those of her sons who, enrolled in the priesthood of Jesus Christ, are laboring to evangelize their own people, to preserve them from the invasion of naturalism and incredulity, with their fatal and inevitable consequences. Called by the will of God to be the savour of the world, priests must always, and above all things, remember that they are by the very institution of Jesus Christ, "the salt of the earth,"¹ and hence St. Paul, writing to Timothy, justly concluded that "by their charity,

¹ Matt. v., 13.

their faith and their purity, they must be an example to the faithful in their words and in their relations with their neighbors."¹

That such is true of the French clergy, taken as a whole, has always been a great consolation to us to learn, Venerable Brothers, from the quadrennial reports you send us concerning the state of your dioceses, conformably to the Constitution of Sixtus V., and from the oral communications we receive from you whenever we have the happiness of conversing with you and receiving your confidences. Yes, dignity of life, ardor of faith, a spirit of devotedness and sacrifice, a zeal characterized by enthusiasm and generosity, an inexhaustible charity toward their neighbor, energy in all noble and fruitful enterprises making for the glory of God, the salvation of souls and the welfare of their country—these are the precious qualities traditional among the French clergy, and we are happy to be able here to render to them a public and fatherly testimony.

Still, precisely on account of the deep and tender affection we have for them, and at the same time to perform a duty of our Apostolic ministry and respond to the keen desire we feel to see them ever acting up to their great mission, we have resolved, Venerable Brothers, to treat in this letter of certain points to which present circumstances peremptorily call the conscientious attention of the chief pastors of the French Church and of the priests who work under their jurisdiction.

And in the first place it is clear that the more important, complex and difficult an office is the longer and more careful should be the preparation undergone by those who are called to fill it. But is there on earth a dignity higher than that of the priesthood or a ministry imposing a heavier responsibility than that whose object is the sanctification of all the free acts of man? Is it not of the government of souls that the Fathers have rightly said that it is "the art of arts;" that is, the most important and most delicate of all tasks to which a man may be applied for the benefit of his kind?—"Ars artium regimen animarum?"² Nothing must then be neglected to prepare those whom a divine vocation calls to this mission in order that they may fulfill it worthily and fruitfully.

To begin with, from among the young those are to be selected in whom the Most High has sown the seeds of a vocation. We are aware that, thanks to your wise recommendations, in many dioceses of France the priests of the different parishes, especially in country districts, apply themselves with a zeal and self-sacrifice which we cannot sufficiently praise in guiding themselves the studies of children in whom they have observed a marked tendency to piety and

¹ I. Tim. iv., 12.

² St. Greg. the Gr. Lib. Regulæ Past., P. I., c. 1.

an aptitude for intellectual work. The presbyteral schools are thus the first step, as it were, of the stairs which from the junior to the senior seminaries carry up to the priesthood those young men to whom the Saviour repeats the appeal He addressed to Peter and Andrew, to John and James, "Leave your nets; follow Me, I will make you fishers of men."¹

With regard to the junior seminary, this very valuable institution has been frequently and justly compared to the beds in which are set apart such plants as call for the most particular and assiduous care as the only way to make them bear fruit and produce a recompense for the labors of their cultivation. On this subject, we renew the recommendation addressed by our predecessor, Pius IX., to the Bishops in his Encyclical of December 8, 1849. This is itself based on one of the most important decisions of the Fathers of the Council of Trent. To France belongs the glory of having held it in most account during the present century, for of the ninety-four dioceses in the country there is not one which is not endowed with one or more junior seminaries.

We know, Venerable Brothers, the solicitude which you bestow on these institutions so justly dear to your pastoral zeal, and we congratulate you on it. The priests who labor, under your superintendence, for the formation of the youth called to enroll itself later on in the ranks of the sacerdotal army, cannot too often meditate before God on the exceptional importance of the mission with which you entrust them. They have not simply to instruct their children in the elements of letters and human science, like the general run of masters—that is the least part of their task. Their attention, zeal and devotion must be ever on the watch and active, in order, on the one hand, to study continually, under the eye and in the light of God, the souls of the children and the indications of their vocation to the service of the altar, and, on the other, to help the inexperience and feebleness of their young disciples in order to protect the precious grace of the Divine call against all deadly influences, both from without and from within. They have therefore to exercise a ministry that is humble, laborious and delicate, and requires constant abnegation. To sustain their courage in the fulfillment of their duties, they will take care to temper it in the purest sources of the spirit of faith. They must never lose sight of the fact that the children whose intelligence, heart and character they are engaged in forming are not being prepared for earthly functions, however legitimate or honorable. The Church confides those children to them in order that they may one day be fit to become priests; that

¹ Matt. iv., 19.

is to say, missionaries of the Gospel, continuers of the work of Jesus Christ, distributors of His Grace and His Sacraments. Let this purely supernatural consideration incessantly imbue their double function as professors and educators, and be the leaven, so to say, which is to be mixed with the best flour, according to the Gospel parable, so as to transform it into sweet and substantial bread.¹

And as an abiding thoughtfulness for the first and indispensable formation of the spirit and virtues of the priesthood should inspire the masters of your junior seminaries in their relations with their pupils, so, too, the system of study and the whole economy of discipline must be allied to this same primary and directing idea. We are not unaware, Venerable Brothers, that you are to a certain extent obliged to reckon with the State programme and with the conditions imposed by it for obtaining university degrees, owing to the fact that in certain cases such degrees are required of priests engaged in the management of free colleges under the patronage of the Bishops and religious congregations, or in the higher teaching of the Catholic faculties which you have so laudably established. It is, moreover, of sovereign importance for the maintenance of the influence of the clergy on society that they count among their ranks a sufficient number of priests yielding nothing in science, of which degrees are the official evidence, to the masters whom the State trains for its lyceums and universities.

Nevertheless, after making all the allowances imposed by circumstances for this exigency of the State programme, the studies of aspirants to the priesthood must remain faithful to the traditional methods of past ages. It is these which have produced the eminent men of whom France is so justly proud—the Petaus, Thomassins, Mabillons and many others, to say nothing of your Bossuet, called the Eagle of Meaux, because in loftiness of thought and nobility of expression his genius soars in the highest regions of Christian science and eloquence. The study of *belles lettres* rendered mighty aid in making these men valiant and useful workers in the service of the Church and capable of writing works which were truly worthy to pass down to posterity, and which contribute even to-day to the defense and propagation of revealed truth. For the *belles lettres* have the property, when taught by skilful Christian masters, of rapidly developing in the souls of young men all the germs of intellectual and moral life, whilst at the same time contributing accuracy and broadness to the judgment and elegance and distinction to expression.

This consideration assumes special importance when applied to

¹ Matt. x.ii., 33.

Greek and Latin literature, the depositaries of those masterpieces of sacred science which the Church with good reason counts among her most precious treasures. Half a century ago, at that period (all too brief!) of true liberty, during which the bishops of France were free to meet and concert such measures as they deemed best calculated to further the progress of religion, and, at the same time, most profitable to the public peace, several of your Provincial Councils, Venerable Brothers, recommended in the most express terms the culture of the Latin tongue and literature. Even then your colleges deplored the fact that the knowledge of Latin in your country tended to diminish.¹

But if the methods of pedagogy in vogue in the State establishments have been for several years past progressively reducing the study of Latin and suppressing the exercises in prose and poetry which our fathers justly considered should hold a large place in college classes, the junior seminaries must put themselves on their guard against these innovations, inspired by utilitarian motives and working to the detriment of the solid formation of the mind. To the ancient methods so often justified by their results we would freely apply the words of St. Paul to his disciple Timothy, and with the apostle we would say to you, Venerable Brothers, "Guard the deposit"² with jealous care. If it should be destined—which God forbid!—one day to disappear from the other public schools, let your junior seminaries and free colleges keep it with an intelligent and patriotic solicitude. Doing so, you will be imitating the priests of Jerusalem, who, saving the sacred fire of the temple from the barbarian invader, so hid it as to be able to find it again and restore it to its splendor when the evil day should have passed.³

Once in possession of the Latin tongue—the key, so to say, of sacred science—and their mental faculties sufficiently developed by the study of the belles lettres, young men destined for the priesthood pass from the junior to the senior seminary. There they will prepare themselves by piety and the exercise of the priestly virtues for the reception of Holy Orders, while devoting themselves to the study of philosophy and theology.

In our Encyclical "*Æterni Patris*," which we once again recommend to the attentive perusal of your seminarists and their masters, we declared, with St. Paul as our authority, that it is by the empty subtleties of false philosophy "*per philosophiam et inanem fallaciam*"⁴ that the minds of the faithful are most frequently led astray and the purity of the faith corrupted among men, we added, and the events of the last twenty years have furnished bitter confirmation of the

¹ Litt. Synod. Patrum Conc. Paris ad clericos et fideles an., 1849, in Collectione Lacensis Tom. iv., col. 36. ² I. Tim. vi., 20. ³ II. Mach. i., 19-22. ⁴ Encyclical *Æterni Patris*.

reflections and apprehensions we expressed at the time. If one notes the critical condition of the times in which we live and ponders on the state of affairs in public and private life he will have no difficulty in seeing that the cause of the evils which oppress us, as well as those which menace, lies in the fact that erroneous opinions on all subjects, human and divine, have gradually percolated from philosophical schools through all ranks of society, and have come to be accepted by a large number of minds.¹

We renew our condemnation of those teachings of philosophy which have merely the name, and which by striking at the very foundation of human knowledge lead logically to universal skepticism and to irreligion. We are profoundly grieved to learn that for some years past some Catholics have felt at liberty to follow in the wake of a philosophy which under the specious pretext of freeing human reason from all preconceived ideas and from all illusions, denies it the right of affirming anything beyond its own operations, thus sacrificing to a radical subjectivism all the certainties which traditional metaphysics, consecrated by the authority of the strongest thinkers, laid down as the necessary and unshakable foundations for the demonstration of the existence of God, the spirituality and immortality of the soul, and the objective reality of the exterior world. It is to be deeply regretted that this doctrinal skepticism, of foreign importation and Protestant origin, should have been received with so much favor in a country so justly celebrated for its love of clearness of thought and expression. We know, Venerable Brothers, how far you share our well-grounded anxiety on this subject, and we reckon on you to redouble your solicitude and vigilance in shutting out this fallacious and dangerous philosophy from the teaching in your seminaries, and to honor more than ever the methods we recommended in the above-quoted Encyclical of August 4, 1879.

In our times the students in your junior and senior seminaries can less than ever afford to be strangers to the study of physical and natural science. To it, therefore, they must apply themselves—but in due measure and in wise proportions. It is by no means necessary that in the scientific course annexed to the study of philosophy the professors should feel themselves obliged to expound in detail the almost innumerable applications of physical and natural sciences in the different branches of human industry. It is enough that their pupils have an accurate knowledge of the main principles and summary conclusions, so as to be able to solve the objections which infidels draw from these sciences against the teachings of Revelation.

¹ *De Studiis Monasticis*, Part II., c. 9.

It is of capital importance that the students of your senior seminaries should study, for at least two years, with great care, "rational" philosophy, which, as the learned Benedictine Mabillon, the glory of his order and of France, used to say, will be of the greatest assistance to them, not only in teaching them how to reason well and arrive at right conclusions, but in putting them in a position to defend the orthodox faith against the captious and often sophistical arguments of adversaries.¹

Next come the sacred sciences, properly so called—Dogmatic and Moral Theology, Sacred Scripture, Church History and Canon Law. These are the sciences proper to the priest—in them he receives a first initiation during his sojourn in the senior seminary, but he must pursue his studies in them throughout the remainder of his life.

Theology is the science of the things of faith. It is nourished, Pope Sixtus V. tells us, at those ever-willing springs—the Holy Scriptures, the decisions of the Popes, the decrees of the Councils.²

Called positive and speculative or scholastic, according to the method followed in studying it, theology does not confine itself to proposing the truths which are to be believed; it scrutinizes their inmost depths, shows their relations with human reason, and, aided by the resources which true philosophy supplies, explains, develops and adapts them accurately to all the needs of the defense and propagation of the faith. Like Beseleel, to whom the Lord gave His spirit of wisdom, intelligence and knowledge, when intrusting him with the mission of building His temple, the theologian "cuts the precious stones of divine dogma, assorts them skilfully, and, by the setting he gives them, brings out their brilliancy, charm and beauty."³

Rightly, then, does the same Sixtus V. call theology (and here he is referring especially to scholastic theology) a gift from heaven, and ask that it be maintained in the schools and cultivated with great ardor, as being abundant in fruitfulness for the Church.

Is it necessary to add that the book par excellence in which students may with most profit study scholastic theology is the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas? It is our wish, therefore, that professors be sure to explain to all their pupils its method, as well as the principal articles relating to Catholic faith.

We recommend equally that all seminarists have in their hands, and frequently peruse, that golden book known as the Catechism of the Council of Trent, or Roman Catechism, dedicated to all priests invested with the pastoral office (*Catechismus ad Parochos*). Noted

¹ Const. Apost. *Triumphantis Jerusalem*. ² St. Vinc. Lir. Commonit, c. 2. ³ Same Const. Apost.

both for the abundance and accuracy of its teaching and for elegance of style, this catechism is a precious summary of the whole of theology, dogmatic and moral. The priest who knows it thoroughly has always at his disposal resources which will enable him to preach with fruit, to acquit himself fitly in the important ministry of the confessional and the direction of souls, and be in a position to refute triumphantly the objections of unbelievers.

With regard to the study of the Holy Scriptures, we call your attention once more, Venerable Brothers, to the teachings we laid down in our Encyclical "*Providentissimus Deus*,"¹ which we wish the professors to put before their disciples, with the necessary explanations. They will put them specially on their guard against the disturbing tendencies which it is sought to introduce into the interpretation of the Bible, and which would shortly, were they to prevail, bring about the ruin of its inspiration and supernatural character. Under the specious pretext of depriving the adversaries of the revealed word of apparently irrefutable arguments against the authenticity and veracity of the Holy Books, some Catholic writers have thought it a clever idea to adopt those arguments for themselves. By these strange and perilous tactics they have worked to make a breach with their own hands in the walls of the city they were charged to defend. In our Encyclical above quoted, and in another document,² we have spoken our mind on this rash, dangerous policy. While encouraging our exegetists to keep abreast with the progress of criticism, we have firmly maintained the principles which have been sanctioned in this matter by the traditional authority of the Fathers and Councils, and renewed in our own time by the Council of the Vatican.

The history of the Church is like a mirror, which reflects the life of the Church through the ages. It proves, better far than civil and profane history, the sovereign liberty of God and His providential action on the march of events. They who study it must never lose sight of the fact that it contains a body of dogmatic facts which none may call in question. That ruling, supernatural idea which presides over the destinies of the Church is at the same time the torch whose light illuminates her history. Still, inasmuch as the Church, which continues among men the life of the Word Incarnate, is composed of a divine and a human element, this latter must be expounded by teachers and studied by disciples with great probity. "God has no need of our lies," as we are told in the Book of Job.³

The Church historian will be all the better equipped to bring out her divine origin, superior as this is to all conceptions of a merely

¹ 18 November, 1893. ² Letter to the Min. Gen. of the Fr. Minor, November 25, 1898. ³ Job xiii., 77.

terrestrial and natural order, the more loyal he is in naught extenuating of the trials which the faults of her children, and at times even of her ministers, have brought upon the Spouse of Christ during the course of centuries. Studied in this way, the history of the Church constitutes by itself a magnificent and conclusive demonstration of the truth and divinity of Christianity.

Lastly, to finish the cycle of studies by which candidates for the priesthood should prepare themselves for their future ministry, mention must be made of Canon Law, or the science of the laws and jurisprudence of the Church. This science is connected by very close and logical ties with that of Theology, which it applies practically to all that concerns the government of the Church, the dispensation of holy things, the rights and duties of her ministers, the use of temporal goods which she needs for the accomplishment of her mission. "Without a knowledge of Canon Law (as the Fathers of one of your provincial councils very well said), theology is imperfect, incomplete, like a man with only one arm. Ignorance of Canon Law has favored the birth and diffusion of numerous errors about the rights of the Roman Pontiffs and of Bishops, and about the powers which the Church derives from her own Constitution—powers whose exercise she adapts to circumstances."¹

We shall sum up all we have just said concerning your junior and senior seminaries in this sentence of St. Paul, which we recommend to the frequent meditation of the masters and pupils of your ecclesiastical athenæums: "O Timothy, carefully guard the deposit which has been confided to you. Fly the profane novelties of words and objections which cover themselves with the false names of science, for all they who have made profession of them have erred in the faith."²

And now we have a word to say to you, dearly beloved sons, who have been ordained priests and become the coöoperators of your Bishops. We know, and the whole world knows with us, the qualities which distinguish you. There is no good work of which you are not the inspiration or the apostles. Docile to the counsels we gave you in the Encyclical "*Rerum Novarum*," you go to the people, to the workers, to the poor. You endeavor by all means in your power to help them, raise them in the moral scale, render their lot less hard. To this end you form reunions and congresses; you establish homes, clubs, rural banks, aid and employment offices for the toilers. You labor to introduce reforms into economic and social life, and in the difficult enterprise you do not hesitate to make serious sacrifices of time and money; and with the same scope you

¹ Conc. Prov., Bitur a. 1868. ² I. Tim. vi., 20-21

write books and articles in the newspapers and reviews. All these are, in themselves, highly praiseworthy, and in them you give no equivocal proofs of good will and of intelligent and generous devotedness to relieve the most pressing needs of contemporary society and of souls.

Still, beloved sons, we deem it our duty paternally to call your attention to some fundamental principles to which you will not fail to conform if you desire that your activity be really fruitful and reproductive.

Remember, above all, that zeal, to be profitable and praiseworthy, must be "accompanied by discretion, rectitude and purity." Thus does the grave and judicious Thomas à Kempis express himself.¹ Before him St. Bernard, the glory of your country in the twelfth century, that indefatigable apostle of all great causes touching the honor of God, the rights of the Church or the good of souls, did not fear to say that "zeal, separated from knowledge and from the spirit of discernment or discretion, is insupportable . . . that the more ardent zeal is, the more necessary is it that it be accompanied by that discretion which puts order into the exercise of charity and without which even virtue may be changed into a defect and a principle of disorder."² And discretion in activity and in the choice of means of rendering activity successful is all the more indispensable from the fact that the present times are disturbed and environed with numerous difficulties. This or that act, measure or practice, suggested by zeal, while excellent in themselves, can only—owing to the circumstances of the race—produce bad results. Priests will avoid this inconvenience and this evil, if before and during their action they take care to conform to established order and the rules of discipline. And ecclesiastical discipline demands union among the different members of the hierarchy, and the respect and obedience of inferiors to their superiors. In our recent letter to the Archbishop of Tours we said the same thing: "The edifice of the Church of which God Himself is the architect, rests on a very visible foundation, primarily on the authority of Peter and his successors, but also on the Apostles and the successors of the Apostles, the Bishops, so that to hear their voice or to despise it is tantamount to hearing or despising Jesus Christ Himself."³

Listen, then, to the words addressed by St. Ignatius, the great martyr of Antioch, to the clergy of the primitive Church: "Let all obey their Bishops, as Jesus Christ obeyed His Father. In all things touching the sense of the Church do nothing without your Bishop, and as our Lord did nothing but in close union with His

¹ Zelus animarum laudandus est si sit discretus, rectus et purus. ² St. Bern, Serm. XLIX., in Cant. n. 5. ³ Lett. ad Arch. Turon.

Father, so priests, do you nothing without your Bishop. Let all members of the priestly body be united, as all the strings of a harp are united in the instrument.”¹

Should you, on the contrary, act as priests independently of this submission to and union with your Bishops, we would repeat to you the words of our predecessor, Gregory XVI., viz., that “you utterly destroy, as far as in you lies, the order established with a most wise forethought by God, the author of the Church.”²

Remember, too, beloved sons, that the Church is rightly compared to an army in battle array “*sicut castrorum acies ordinata,*”³ because it is her mission to combat the enemies, visible and invisible, of God and men’s souls. Wherefore did St. Paul recommend Timothy to bear himself “as a good soldier of Jesus Christ?”⁴ Now, that which constitutes the strength of an army and contributes most to its victory is discipline and the exact and rigorous obedience of all toward those in command.

Just here zeal out of place and without discretion may easily become the cause of real disaster. Call to mind one of the most memorable facts of sacred history. Certainly neither courage, willingness, nor devotion to the sacred cause of religion were lacking in those priests who gathered round Judas Maccabeus, to fight with him against the enemies of the true God, the profaners of the temple, the oppressors of their nation. And yet, releasing themselves from the rules of discipline, they rashly engaged in a combat in which they were vanquished. The Holy Spirit tells us of them “that they were not of the race of those who might save Israel.” Why? Because they would obey only their own inspirations, and threw themselves forward without awaiting the orders of their leaders. “*In die illa ceciderunt sacerdotes in bello, dum volunt fortiter faccre, dum sine consilio exeunt in praelium.*⁵ *Ipsi autem non erant de semine virorum illorum, per quos salus facta est in Israel.*”⁶

On this point our enemies may serve us for an example. They are well aware that union is strength, “*vis unita fortior,*” so they do not fail to unite close when it comes to attacking the holy Church of Jesus Christ.

If, then, you desire, as you certainly do, beloved sons, that in the formidable contest being waged against the Church by anti-Christian sects and by the city of the evil one, the victory be for God and His Church, it is absolutely necessary for you to fight all together in perfect order and discipline under the command of your hierarchical leaders. Pay no heed to those pernicious men who, though call-

¹ St Ign. Ant., Ep. ad Smyrna, 8; idem ad Magn., vii. ² Greg. XVI., Epist. Encycl. 15 Aug. 1882. ³ Cant. vi., 3. ⁴ II. Tim. ii., 3. ⁵ I. Macc. v., 67. ⁶ I. Macc. v., 62.

ing themselves Christians and Catholics, throw tares into the field of the Lord and sow division in His Church by attacking and often even calumniating the Bishops "established by the Holy Ghost to rule the Church of God."¹ Read neither their pamphlets nor their papers. No good priest should in any way lend authority either to their ideas or to their license of speech. Can he ever forget that on the day of his ordination he promised "*obedientiam et reverentiam*" to his Bishop before the holy altar?

Above all things, remember, beloved sons, that an indispensable condition of true zeal and the best pledge of success in the works to which hierarchical obedience consecrates you is purity and holiness of life. "Jesus began by practicing before preaching."² Like Him, the priest must preface preaching by word by preaching by example. "Separated from the world and its concerns (say the Fathers of the Council of Trent), clerics have been placed on a height where they are visible and the faithful look into their lives as into a mirror to know what they are to imitate. Hence clerics and all they whom God has called specially to His service should so regulate their actions and morals that there may be nothing in their deportment, manners, movements, words and in all the other details of their life which is not deeply impressed with religion. They must carefully avoid faults which, though trivial, in others would be very serious to them, in order that there be not a single one of their acts which does not inspire respect in all."³ With these recommendations of the sacred Council, which we would wish, beloved sons, to engrave in all your hearts, those priests who certainly fail to comply, who adopted in their preaching language out of harmony with the dignity of their priesthood and the sacredness of the word of God; who attended popular meetings where their presence could only excite the passions of the wicked and of the enemies of the Church, and who exposed themselves to the grossest insults without profit to any one, and to the astonishment, if not scandal, of the pious faithful; who assumed the habits, manners, conduct and spirit of laymen. Salt must certainly be mingled with the mass which it is to preserve from corruption, but it must at the same time defend itself against the mass under pain of losing all savor and becoming of no use except to be thrown out and trampled under foot.⁴

So, too, the priest who is the salt of the earth must in his necessary contact with the society by which he is surrounded, preserve modesty, gravity and holiness in manner, action and speech, and not allow himself to become infected with the levity, dissipation and vanity of the worldly. He must, on the contrary, in the midst of the

¹ Acts xx., 28. ² Act i., 1. ³ S. Conc. Trid., Sess. xxii., de Ref., c. 1. ⁴ Matt. v., 13.

men, keep his soul so united with God that he lose nothing of the spirit of his holy state, and be not constrained to make before God and his conscience the sad and humiliating avowal: "I never go among laymen that I do not return less a priest."

Is it not because they have, with a zeal that is presumptive, set aside those traditional rules of discretion, modesty and prudence that certain priests consider as out of date and incompatible with "the present needs of the ministry those principles of discipline and conduct which they received from their masters in the senior seminary?" They are to be seen rushing, as if by instinct, into the most perilous innovations in speech, manners and associations. Several of them, alas! rashly putting themselves on the slippery incline from which they have no native power to escape, and despising the charitable warnings of their superiors and their older and more experienced colleagues, have ended in apostasies which rejoice the hearts of the adversaries of the Church and brought bitterest tears into the eyes of their Bishops, their brothers in the priesthood and the pious faithful. St. Augustine tells us: "When a man is out of the right way the more quickly and impetuously he advances, the more he errs."¹

There are, of course, some changes which are advantageous and calculated to advance the kingdom of God in men's souls and in society. But, as the Holy Gospel tells us,² it is the province of the "Father of the household" and not of the children or servants to examine them, and, if he judges well, to give them currency side by side with the time-honored and venerable usages, which make up the rest of his treasury.

Lately when fulfilling the apostolic duty of putting the Catholics of North America on their guard against innovations, tending, among other things, to substitute for the principles of perfection consecrated by the teaching of doctors and the practice of saints moral maxims and rules of life more or less impregnated with that naturalism which nowadays endeavors to penetrate everywhere, we proclaimed aloud that far from repudiating and rejecting "*en bloc*" the progress accomplished in the present epoch, we were only too anxious to welcome all that goes to augment the patrimony of science or to give greater extension to public prosperity. But we took care to add that this progress could be of efficacious service to the good cause only when harmonized with the authority of the Church.³

As a conclusion to this letter we are pleased to apply to the clergy

¹ Enarr. in Ps. xxxi., n. 6. ² Matt. xiii., 52. ³ Epist ad S. R. E. Pr. Card Gibbons, 22 Jan., 1899.

of France what we formerly wrote for the priests of our diocese of Perugia. We reproduce here a portion of the pastoral letter we addressed to them on July 19, 1866:

"We ask the ecclesiastics of our diocese to reflect seriously on their sublime obligations and on the difficult circumstances through which we are passing and to act in such wise that their conduct be in harmony with their duties and always conformable to the rules of an enlightened and prudent zeal. For thus even our enemies will seek in vain for motives of reproach and blame: *qui ex adverso est vereatur nihil habens malum dicere de nobis.*¹

"Although difficulties and dangers are every day multiplying, the pious and fervent priest must not for that be discouraged—he must not abandon his duties or even draw rein in the accomplishment of the spiritual mission he has received for the welfare and salvation of mankind and for the maintenance of that august religion of which he is herald and minister. For it is especially by difficulties and trials that his virtue becomes strong and stable; it is in the greatest misfortunes, in the midst of political transformations and social upheavals that the salutary and civilizing influence of his ministry shines forth with greatest brilliancy.

" . . . To come down to practice we find a teaching admirably adapted to the circumstances in the four maxims which the great Apostle St. Paul gave to his disciple Titus. In all things give good example by your works, your doctrine, the integrity of your life, by the gravity of your conduct, using none but holy and blameless language.² We would that each and every member of our clergy meditate on these maxims and conform his conduct thereto.

"In omnibus te ipsum præbe exemplum bonorum operum. In all things give an example of good works; that is, of active and exemplary life, animated by a true spirit of charity and guided by the maxims of evangelical prudence—of a life of sacrifice and toil, consecrated to the welfare of your neighbors, not with earthly views or for a perishable reward, but with a supernatural object. Give an example by that language at once simple, noble and lofty, by that sound and blameless discourse which confounds all human opposition, calms the long standing hatred the world has sworn against you, and wins for you the respect and even esteem of the enemies of religion. Every one devoted to the service of the sanctuary has been at all times obliged to show himself a living model and perfect exemplar of all the virtues; but this obligation becomes all the more instant when, as a consequence of social upheavals, we are

¹ Tit. ii., 8.

² Tit. ii., 7, 8.

treading a difficult and uncertain path where we may at every step discover ambushes and pretexts of attack. . . .

"In doctrina. In the face of the combined efforts of incredulity and heresy to consummate the ruin of Catholic faith, it would be a real crime for the clergy to remain in a state of hesitancy and inactivity. In such an outpouring of error and conflict of opinion he must not prove faithless to his mission, which is to defend dogma assaulted, morality travestied and justice frequently outraged. It is for him to oppose himself as a barrier to the attacks of error and the deceits of heresy; to watch the tactics of the wicked who war on the faith and honor of this Catholic country; to unmask their plots and reveal their ambuscades; to warn the confiding, strengthen the timid and open the eyes of the blinded. Superficial erudition or merely common knowledge will not suffice for all this—there is need of study, solid, profound and continuous, in a word of a mass of doctrinal knowledge sufficient to cope with the subtlety and remarkable cunning of our modern opponents. . . .

"In integritate. No better proof of the importance of this council could be had than the sad evidence of what is going on around us. Do we not observe that the lax life of some ecclesiastics brings discredit and contempt on their ministry and proves the occasion of scandals? If men, endowed with minds as brilliant as they are remarkable, now and then desert the ranks of the sacred soldiery and rise in revolt against the Church—that mother who, in her tenderness and affection had advanced them to the direction and for the salvation of souls, their defection and wanderings have most frequently had their origin in want of discipline and evilness of life. . . .

"In gravitate. By gravity is to be understood that serious, judicious, tactful conduct which should be characteristic of every faithful and prudent minister chosen by God for the government of His family. While thanking God for having vouchsafed to raise him to this honor, he must show himself faithful to all his obligations, and at the same time balanced and prudent in all his actions; he must not allow himself to be dominated by base passions, nor carried away by violent and exaggerated language; he must lovingly sympathize with the misfortunes and weaknesses of others; do all the good he can to every one, disinterestedly, unostentatiously, and maintaining ever intact the honor of his character and sublime dignity."

We return now to you, beloved sons in the French clergy, and we are firmly convinced that our perceptions and counsels, solely inspired as they are by our paternal affection, will be understood and

received by you in the sense and bearing we wished to give them in addressing you this letter.

We expect much from you, because God has richly endowed you with all the gifts and qualities necessary for performing great and holy deeds for the advantage of the Church and society. We would that not one among you permit himself to be tarnished by those imperfections which dim the splendor of the sacerdotal character and injure its efficacy.

The present times are evil; the future is still more gloomy and menacing, and seems to herald the approach of a redoubtable crisis and social upheaval. It behooves us, then, as we have said on many occasions, to honor the salutary principles of religion, as well as those of justice, charity, respect and duty. It is for us to imbue men's souls with these principles—and especially those souls which have become captive to infidelity or disturbed by destroying passions, to bring about the reign of the grace and peace of our Divine Redeemer, Who is the Light and the Resurrection and the Life, and in Him to unite all men, notwithstanding the inevitable social distinctions which divide them.

Yes, now more than ever, is there need of the help and devotedness of exemplary priests, full of faith, discretion and zeal, who, taking inspiration from the gentleness and energy of Jesus Christ, Whose true ambassadors they are, "*pro Christo legatione fungimur,*"¹ to announce with a courageous and inexhaustible patience the eternal truths which are seldom fruitless of virtue in men's souls.

Their ministry will be laborious—oftentimes even painful, especially in countries where the people are absorbed in worldly interests and live in forgetfulness of God and His holy religion. But the enlightened, charitable and unwearying influence of the priest fortified by Divine grace will work, as it has already worked, prodigies of resurrection almost beyond belief.

With all our soul and with unspeakable joy we hail this consoling vista, and meanwhile with all the affection of our heart we grant the Apostolic Benediction to you, venerable brothers, and to the clergy and people of France.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, on the 8th of September, in the year 1899, the twenty-second of our Pontificate.

LEO, PP. XIII.

¹ II. Cor. v., 20.

THE FATE OF HISTORICAL FALSIFICATION.

THE hue and outcry made when De Maistre, in one of his pungent epigrams, declared that "history, as written during the last three hundred years, was nothing more than a conspiracy against truth," may still be recalled by readers familiar with that period of stress and storm. De Maistre was a man not given to sententious moralizing or verbal prudery. Sweeping and paradoxical as the epigram appeared at first blush, it was found upon closer scrutiny to be sharp of edge, packed with meaning and truth, a perfect crystallization of the pernicious influences which made historical writing the vehicle of partisanship, misrepresentation and falsehood. Ostensibly ignoring the imputation cast upon historians, in secret the trained eye of the scientific scholar did not fail to descry more than a mere substratum of truth in the caustic Frenchman's axiom, if indeed, it did not flash its full light into his dazzled eye. In fact instead of becoming an overt gibe, the epigram became a current truism.

Nor is this to be wondered at. A casual glance into the times, methods, purposes and environments of most historians, convinces us that they were the victims, sometimes not unconsciously or unwillingly, of afflictive circumstances, perverse taste, traditional misconception. Under such conditions it was an inevitable result that fierce antipathy, implacable bitterness, blundering ignorance, self-confident audacity, not to say blind partisanship, should usurp the place of manliness of thought, breadth of view, ripeness of judgment, honesty of purpose and fearless integrity.

History became a jest and by-word. The historian an advocate with a brief, the salaried functionary of the State, the tool of the political party, the apologist of the sect. "What is history?" sneeringly asks Napoleon, "but a fiction agreed upon?" "My friend," said Faust, "the times which are gone by are a book with seven seals, and what you call the spirit of past ages is but the spirit of this or that worthy gentleman in whose minds these ages are reflected." As if setting the stamp of fullest assent on this theory, Goethe's illustrious contemporary, Schiller, for years the accredited historian of the Thirty Years' War, with an ingenuousness almost childlike in its simplicity, formulates his historical creed—that history "in general is only a magazine for my fancy, and the objects must submit to be plastic in my hands." One is almost tempted to think that

Nietzsche had the famous Jena professor in view when he maintains the "Suabians are the best liars in Germany—they lie innocently."¹ "No, no," remonstrated the old veteran statesman, Sir Robert Walpole, when his son, in order to relieve the tedium of his declining days, read current literature to him. "No, no—not history, Horace; that *can't* be true." Our own sweet-tempered mild-mannered Emerson, with a tincture of ill-disguised petulance, owns that he is "ashamed to see what shallow village talk our so-called history is." Can it be wondered, then, that the raucous voice of Shopenhauer, the very antipodes of the Concord Sage, joins this chorus and ungallantly arraigns Clio "of being infected even in the smallest artery with the virus of falsehood?"

Seemingly this picture may be drawn with too dark a realism: appear exaggerated and pessimistic; a piece of grotesque jocularity. But who can view the Iconoclasm of History—to use a most applicable phrase of Lord Acton's—during the last fifty years, and not be convinced that the new methods adopted, the new researches instituted, the new discoveries made, and last, but not least, the new objectivity demanded, have shaken the credibility of many historians of the last three hundred years, invalidated the authority of some, remorselessly discredited the honesty of others? Data once looked upon as incontestably secure have been disproven; characters once invested with all the poetic romance and garish glamor of some eulogist's fervid imagination have passed the critical gauntlet woefully bedraggled, sadly crippled, unrecognizably disfigured; individuals once held up to scorn and execration, their bodies rotting in dungeons, their lives forfeited on the gibbet or at the stake, consigned to their graves without a tear, buried without an epitaph, their very ashes scattered to the winds of heaven, now appear irradantly transfigured as humanity's proudest boast, God's own elect; epoch-making events that once thrilled the heart of a nation, under the modern diagnostician's merciless scrutiny have been found to be national aberrations, fanned by bigotry, nurtured by ignorance, inspired by political chicanery; heroes whose awesome and gigantic stature once dwarfed all posterity to a race of liliputians, have been toppled from their pedestals, hurled from their niches and found to belong, after all, to the common, ignoble herd. Disenchantment and disillusion fairly dazes us, and sends us groping into a still more bewildering amazement.

The veil of Isis is gradually being lifted. The modern critical and scientific spirit is no longer satisfied with the ancestral historical patrimony, with the unaccredited tradition of past ages and men.

¹ Nietzsche's *Sämmtliche Werke*, Vol. VIII., p. 225.

Close investigation discovered the moral debasement, if not spuriousness of the current historical coinage; the die must be broken; the alloy differentiated from the pure gold; the original weight and value must be re-established. History must be rehabilitated, its equity vindicated. Detail and not deduction, reference and not inference, logic and not sophistry, fact and not fiction, self-effacement and not arbitrariness, are the shibboleths of the new movement. It begins with original research and penetrates the very fountain head. It rummages every neglected archive, ransacks every begrimed library, invades the buried wastes of the past, burrows into the bowels of the earth, scans every vestige of human activity, searches the very hearts of men; for not only geographical, economic and ethnographic problems demand solution, but psychical, political and ethical as well. The master builder of modern history cannot be satisfied with the printed page alone. After all, it is nothing more than the material used by his predecessor, straw that has been threshed a thousand times without wheat. The very process in its transmission is calculated more to perpetuate than rectify error. Documentary evidence is the battle cry of the new school. What revolutions it has effected within the last seventy years—for we can only date the documentary period from 1830—are manifest. The forgotten folio, the worm-eaten parchment, the century-stained manuscript, the shriveled papyrus, the tarnished palimpsest, the incrusted clay brick, the shivered entablature have been triumphantly brought from their forgotten recesses or mouldering tombs to bear testimony, not only to the corruption of history, but more signally to the perennial youth and deathless vitality of Truth.

Truth outraged demanded vindication; truth silenced demanded voice; truth suppressed demanded publicity. This is the real mission of the "epoch of full-grown history."

With few exceptions, the historians of the old school, and *pari passu*, their readers, were under the spell and thrall which Cardinal Newman, at one time himself its victim, most happily calls "the immemorial, unauthenticated tradition." This tradition was revered as a finality—a court from which there was no appeal. Like the Pillars of Hercules, it was the terminal of all exploration. Without questioning its authenticity, accounting for its inconsistencies, unraveling its contradictions, reasoning even about its possibility or probability, it was transmitted and diffused to generations as uncritical and credulous as itself. Thus misinformation and error were allowed to penetrate the minds of men till they fastened and ramified with the poisonous contagion of a cancer. What were most historians but mere canals, who in pure passivity received the

stream of human testimony without analyzing its wholesomeness, filtering its suspicious-looking murkiness, dredging its alluvial deposits or banishing its swarming infusoria?

Buckle claims that till the beginning of the seventeenth century France—and he might without much hesitancy have added Germany and England—did not produce a single historian, “because she had not produced a single man who presumed to doubt what was generally accepted.”¹ We know, of course, that he refers to that crucial period in French history when the men of “super-celestial opinions and subterranean morals” had an undisputed field to themselves; when truth was so outrageously caricatured that Montaigne, always epigrammatic, could only gloss it over on the plea “that lying was not a vice among the French, but a way of speaking;” when the hierophant of infidelity, Voltaire, inextricably entangled in his monstrous falsehoods, laughed his adversaries to sullen discomfiture by the flippant cynicism, “it was only a frolic of my imagination.” Striking, but illusory, as Buckle’s postulates sometimes are, there is more than a half truth concealed in the present one, and with some qualification we can readily concede it. Not on universal skepticism as a stepping stone must the historian climb the mountain of Truth, but on doubt as a preliminary to certitude. With Cartesian doubt, if you will, must the critical inquiry be prosecuted. He cannot be satisfied with the uncorroborated word or unproven fact of his precursor in the same field. He has the right to demand from his fellow craftsman his credentials as to character, vouchers as to capacity, testimonials as to trustworthiness. He can compel the production of the title deeds to his new acquisitions or discoveries; he can challenge the chain of evidence, and reject it, if but one link be missing which places it beyond the range of ascertainable and verifiable knowledge. Lord Acton substantially inclines to the same position. In his inaugural lecture, when assuming the chair of Modern History at Cambridge, he formulates a series of historical canons which in comprehensiveness seemingly meet every contingency and safeguard the historian with a defense and security that must command respect and carry authority.

“The critic,” he contends, “is one who, when he lights on an interesting statement, begins by suspicion. He remains in suspense until he has subjected his authority to three operations. First, he asks whether he has read the passage as the author wrote it. For the transcriber and the editor and the official or officious censor on the top of the editor have played strange tricks and have much to answer for. And if they are not to blame, it may turn out that the

¹ “History of Civilization in England,” Vol. I., p. 555.

author wrote his book twice over; that you can discover the first jet, the progressive variations, things added and things struck out. Next is the question where the writer got his information. If from a previous writer, it can be ascertained, and the inquiry has to be repeated. If from published papers, they must be traced, and when the fountain head is reached, or the track disappears, the question of veracity arises. The responsible writer's character, his position, antecedents and probable motives have to be examined into; and this is what, in a different and adapted sense of the word, may be called the higher criticism, in comparison with the servile and often mechanical work of pursuing statements to their root. For a historian has to be treated as a witness, and not believed until his sincerity is ascertained. The maxim that a man must be assumed to be honest until the contrary is proved was not made for him. The main thing to learn is not the art of accumulating material, but the sublimer art of investigating it, of discerning truth from falsehood and certainty from doubt. It is by solidity of criticism, more than by plentitude of erudition, that the study of history strengthens and straightens and extends the mind. And the accession of the critic in the place of the indefatigable compiler amounts to a transfer of government in the historic realm."¹

This may be said to give us a summary of the science of history, one that is now universally accepted and finds its best exponents in Menzel (K. A.), Ranke, Böhmer, Waitz, Janssen, in Germany; Maitland, Green, Stubbs, Gardiner, Brewer and Gasquet, in England. It lifts history from the humble sphere of a profession to that of an authoritative science.

But history is more than a mere science. It is also an art. It not only demands the analytical keenness of the paleographist, the critical subtlety of the philologist, the searching intuitiveness of the psychologist—not to mention a familiar acquaintance with political philosophy and economy, the comparative studies of legal institutions and international law—but the well-cadenced ear, the symmetric eye, the deft handiwork of the literary artist. Its influence, no matter how potent or essential, would be circumscribed, if not defeated, if it appeared itself in archaic, forbidding garb, presented itself in the chilling form of a mathematical equation, chemical formula or metaphysical abstraction. True historic portraiture must appeal to the imaginative as well as perceptive faculties. Cold science must be cunningly blended with warm imagination; dry details must artfully coalesce with charming narrative. The philosophy of history must not deport itself with pedantic stiffness nor

¹ Quoted in *Nineteenth Century*, October, 1895, p. 624.

give utterance in portentous phraseology, but must captivate by engaging form and pleasing speech. The element of poetry, though judiciously subordinated, cannot be entirely eliminated. Was not the original, primitive history a legend, a romance, a poem? Shelley is not far astray when, in the language of the poet, he defines history as "the cyclic poem written by time upon the memories of men. The past, like an inspired rhapsodist, fills the theatre of everlasting generations with her harmony."

Here a most insidious snare besets the path of the historian and sorely tempts his historic conscience. "Instead of being equally shared," to quote Macaulay, who was better at preaching than practicing, "instead of being equally shared between its two rulers, the Reason and the Imagination, it (history) falls alternately under the sole dominion of each. It is sometimes fiction; it is sometimes theory."¹ Literature affords distressingly sad examples how literary ambition perverted the historic instinct and the unleashed imagination played havoc with truth and fact. The monuments authors reared in the fond expectation that they would share the perpetuity of Gizeh and insure an immortality in which as

Dead but sceptred sovereigns who still rule
Our spirits from their urns,

have proven

Like the baseless fabric of a vision,
Leaving not a wreck behind.

The old English school of history, notably that represented by Hume, Robertson and Macaulay, to single out three of its best exponents as a general illustration, suffered the full penalty of allowing imagination to outrun discretion and fairness. Looking at the exquisite workmanship revealed in their histories, it needs no keen sight to see that the midnight oil has been devoted, we will not say wasted, more in giving literary symmetry, rhetorical grace, imaginative scope to their productions than in searching musty documents or deciphering vexatious incunabula. The turning of a startling metaphor, the constructing of a striking antithesis, the rounding of a clever epigram, the chisseling of a scintillating *jeu d'esprit*, received the minutest care. Contemptuous indifference, utter neglect awaited the garbled reference, the unverified citation, the buried manuscript. The task of digging with patience and toil in the deep, unexplored mines of history's richest ore seldom entered their minds. Like surveyors, their sextants, with a wide sweep, staked off the ground on the surface; the woodman with his axe, the geologist with his hammer, the metallurgist with his crucible had to follow to reveal the hidden wealth. Besides, might not the intru-

¹ Macaulay's Essays, Vol. I., p. 145, 1879.

sion of unembellished data, like a discordant note in a cloyingly sweet melody, retard the stately march of the picturesque and absorbing narrative? Did not Macaulay boast that he would write a history whose literary charm would make the society woman throw her latest romance in the waste basket? Does he not furthermore contend that history begins in the novel and ends in the essay? On what ground can we account for the astonishing rapidity with which Hume wrote the history of England, from the Roman Invasion to the Revolution—five quarto volumes—in nine years? Or explain how Maitland's rude scalpel fairly eviscerates Robertson's Charles V., disclosing an uncritical and romancing spirit simply astounding? Or excuse Macaulay's diffuseness in covering a period of fifteen years of English history, with five portentous volumes? Do we not, to come to a later date, find one of the most admired historians fall into the same pit? The Prophet of Craigenputtock, booted and spurred and cap-a-pie, with savage phillipics enters the arena to batter down all shams and hoist high the pennant of the "eternal verities:" what a redundancy of oracular declamation, pessimistic vaticination, crypt phrasemaking—

As when some mighty painter dips
His pencil in the hues of earthquake and eclipse!

"Words, words, pictures, tropes, sublimities enough to make the major and minor prophets, but nothing to hold by, to work with or to teach."¹ "Is history a pageant or a philosophy?"—ask the genial author of *Obiter Dicta*. Even Taine, a worshiper of Carlyle, cannot but own that "prophecy is a violent condition which does not sustain itself, and when it fails, is replaced by grand gesticulations!"²

If the historian who is tempted into the realm of imagination, where facts form but the background of the canvass, encounters such dangers, what must be the ordeal and failure of the one who builds up a theory, battles for a hypothesis? Historical theory and historical partisanship are convertible terms. "A formed hypothesis," says Shopenhauer, "gives us a lynx-eyed vision for all that is favorable, but makes us blind to all that is unfavorable."³ The theorist not only mars the beauty of his work, impairs its usefulness and destroys its credibility, but becomes the victim of an idiosyncrasy that relegates his performance more to the domain of the psychological than the historical student. Had Hume suppressed or even softened his bitter aspersions against the English, the Whigs, Whig principles and Whig ministers, the happy *bon mot*

¹ Frederic Harrison: "Choice of Books," p. 197. ² "The methodical people so much ridiculed by Carlyle," continues Taine, "have at least the advantage over him of being able to verify all their steps. Moreover, these vehement divininations and assertions are often void of proof." "History of English Literature," Vol. II., p. 451. ³ Welt als Wille und Vorstellung, Vol. II., p. 244.

that he was "a political historian, or rather a historical politician" would have left his name untarnished. Had Robertson endeavored to take his authorities even at second or third hand, instead of working on a theory and jotting down the first ragged and vague citation that was offered to him, he would not now be consulted with suspicion by the ordinary reader and relegated to the top shelf by the scholar.¹ Had Macaulay threaded his way through "unfair party spirit," which made him make so many loose statements and rash inferences, his value would be immeasurably enhanced. Had even Gibbon, who probably focalizes more of the essential requisites of a great historian than any writer in the language,² omitted the last two chapters of the first volume of his inimitable masterpiece, he would not have offended Christian sensibility, done violence to truth, called into question a work well nigh perfection. Had Buckle abandoned his fatuous theory about the general laws governing the course of human progress, he would have bequeathed to posterity one of the most precious and classic torsos in the history of any literature. Had not the late Regius professor of modern history at Cambridge³ confined his theory "that history fades into mere literature when it loses sight of practical politics" to England, who knows but that it would have dignified the mission of the "ring" and its ethics elevated the status of the "heeler" had it ever reached our own shores? Had Froude, the most exquisite prose colorist of the language, the incomparable master of *mis-en-scene*, steered clear of the theories he wished to establish, he would never have devoted the copious resources of his passionate eloquence, exuberant fancy and matchless verbal brilliancy to prove that Henry VIII. "cut off his wife's head one day and married her maid the next morning out of sheer love of his country."⁴ He might even have escaped the crushing British fisticuff given him by one of the most conservative of English reviews, when it remarks that "ordinarily it is the task of a critic to notice any error into which an author may have fallen. But in the case of Mr. Froude the problem ever is to discover whether he has deviated into truth."⁵ But why continue? The task of enforcing a theory—of historical rehabilitation was not the besetting sin of Froude alone, when he tried to efface what Dickens somewhat unpatriotically calls

¹ "Robertson had the oddest way of consulting his friends as to what subject it would be advisable for him to treat, and was open to proposals from any quarter with exemplary impartiality. This only showed how little the stern conditions of real historic inquiry were appreciated by him." J. Cotter Morrison's Gibbon : "English Men of Letters Series," p. 192.

² "The work of Gibbon as a whole, as the encyclopædic history of thirteen hundred years, as the grandest of historical designs, carried out alike with wonderful power and with wonderful accuracy, must ever keep its place. Whatever else is read, Gibbon must be read, too." Freeman, *ibid.*, 104-5. ³ J. R. Seeley. ⁴ Freeman : "The Method of Historical Study," p. 16.

⁵ London Quarterly Review, July, 1898.

"that blot of grease upon the History of England,"—no we might point to Lord Elphinstone, who wrote a most eloquent defense of Pontius Pilate; or Carducci, whose pathetic efforts to restore the shattered reputation of Judas Iscariot are still in process; or Proudhon, who yearned to embrace Satan and defend him from the cunning malice of Jesuits and the malignant libels of the priests.

It is clearly evident that danger lurks alike in historical fiction and historical theory, and we can only gain a sure foothold in the one case and a clear vision in the other by planting ourselves upon the unshifting ground of fact, above the nebulous haziness of speculation. If the philosophy of history is teaching by example—a truth which in spite of the Latin saw—*exempla illustrant, non probant*, we will assume for the present, it is equally patent, that we must endorse Macaulay when he, perhaps somewhat regretfully, moralizes, "to be a really great historian is perhaps the rarest of intellectual distinctions." But this reflection should never be dissociated from the more pregnant one, "That the true historian . . . seeking to compose a picture of the thing acted, must collect facts, select facts and combine facts. Methods will differ, styles will differ. Nobody ever does anything exactly like anybody else, but the end in view is generally the same, and the historian's end is truthful narration."²

These reflections bring us to the subject indicated by the rubric of this article: to ascertain the attitude of historical writing during the last three hundred years toward the Catholic Church; to discover whether fiction or fact, theory or truth, were the contributing elements to build up the accepted tradition; to allow the new school of Protestant historians to pass judgment on the credibility and motives of their predecessors who erected and buttressed the tradition, and in what manner it has served the cause of truth.

Since the Reformation, and until within the last fifty or sixty years, Protestantism occupied and monopolized the field of ecclesiastical history in Germany and in England, the two nations wrested from Catholic unity. It was more than a monopoly; it was what in the phraseology of the day might properly be called, if not chartered, at least a sort of consecrated trust. The literary activity of the Reformation, primarily the result of the late discovery of printing, was an inheritance of the Renaissance, and not its own spontaneous outgrowth. The subsequent ascendency of the Reformation was coincident,—the cause of literary deterioration. The Reformers became the residuary legatees of the methods, tactics, grandiloquence and calumnies of the pagan element of Humanism. Boccaccio was

¹ "A Child's History of Engl.," Vol. II., p. 106. ² Birrell: *Contemporary Review*, June, 1885,
79.

the precursor of Erasmus; the Decameron is the model of the Familiar Colloquies; Ulrich von Hutten is the lineal descendant of Lorenzo Valla; the literary syndicate that perpetrated the *Epistolæ obscurorum virorum*, abstracting, of course, from its unprintable coarseness and untranslatable obscenity was more than a reminiscence of Lorenzo Medici's Academia. What Humanism attempted by a repriming of ethical paganism, though the sensuous element was always dominant, the Reformation ostensibly attempted to accomplish by a return to primitive Christianity, though its elemental truths were always lacking. When Humanism discovered the unesthetic and unintellectual drift of the Reformation, the line of demarcation at once became apparent, it deepened and widened into a breach, until the rupture became pronounced and final. But the ultimate object of both was consistently the same in the beginning—the undermining of Catholicism and the severance of the bonds that moored the two nations to the Holy See.

In literary activity the Church was anticipated and outstripped by its antagonist, and the latter was far in the race before the former was in readiness to start. With its printing resources it fairly deluged the land before the Catholic scholars, resting on the security of sixteen centuries' undisputed possession were aware of the cataclysm, had time to prepare for the coming tide, much less adopt effective means to divert or stem it. Feverish unrest and brooding discontent like an infection permeated the political body; stoic apathy and moral laxity enervated the ecclesiastical life; a clamorous craving for change was a most pronounced symptom, an ominous portent in the lower strata of society. By invoking the aid of the secular government and rewarding the bankrupt princes and robber barons with undreamed wealth—investing their persons with unprecedented dignity and prestige and holding out prospects still more alluring—the Reformers played the master stroke in diplomacy.¹ "In Silesia," says Menzel, "the new church was mainly established by the favor and protection of princes and magistrates. Nearly all the people were loyal to the ancient faith and had not the remotest thought of making any change in their religion. . . . In Sweden, Gustavus Vasa, who had conquered the independence of his country, professed the new teachings because he desired to bring to the support of his throne the wealth and the power that had been taken from the clergy."² "The princes of the North are unquestionably under great obligations to them [the Reformers]," writes Frederic the Great to Vol-

¹ "What the Reformation would have been without the three Saxon Electors . . . it is impossible to say." Beard: "The Hibbert Lectures," 1883, p. 101. ² "Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen," Vol. II., p. 1.

taire . . . "for by secularizing the church property they have added considerable to their incomes."¹ "If the church had no property," is the laconic way the Puritan Dr. Coxe, when Bishop of Ely, puts it, "there would have been a faint cry for its reformation."² Did not the maintenance of the new order involve the piratical rights the princes and nobility secured over the confiscated monastery and lands? Did not the newly acquired social and legal and ecclesiastical prerogatives conferred on the civil power gratify their ambition and cupidity? The logical evolution of this Reformation endowment was the creation of a new element and power in Christendom—secular absolutism in the ecclesiastical sphere. Inspired and encouraged by the Reformers, it grew with marvelous rapidity. In Germany it found its culmination in the peace of Augsburg (1555), when the infamous axiom—*cujus regio, illius religio*—received legal sanction, and the prince became the master of the body and soul of his subject.³ In England it even advanced further than in Germany by a public promulgation under the most bloody accompaniments of Cæsaro-Papism. The act of supremacy de-throned the Pope and enthroned the King—the triple crown was torn from the venerable head of Clement VII. and now adorned the chaste brow of Henry VIII.! The effect of this course in giving strength to the tradition can hardly be overestimated.

In the next place the pulpit was not silent or inactive in propagating it and carrying legend and myth, properly garnished, into every village and cottage. The priests of the old Church were gagged in the one land and exiled in the other if they dared contravene the shrieking innovator. The professorial chairs at the universities and colleges and gymnasia were in the gift of the ruling prince or the local parish. The fitness of the incumbents was gauged by the ability, zeal and success with which they vindicated the tradition and traduced the Mother Church. It mattered little that the very endowment which made the sinecure a possibility, was the revenue of the desecrated sanctuary, the secularized monastery or the suppressed orphan asylum.

In Germany polemical bitterness and secular despotism made the task of the apologist of Rome one of daring hardihood. A prejudice blind, insatiate, ineradicable, swept the countries like a blighting typhoon. The champions of the Church were derided as obscurantists, bigots, idolators—traitors to national, religious and intellectual liberty. In England confiscation, the tower, the headman's axe

¹ *Oeuvr.*, Vol. XXI., p. 64, May 14, 1731. ² "Historical Portraits of the Tudor Dynasty," etc. Sir Hubert Burke, Vol. II., p. 411. ³ "Luther," says Wolfgang Menzel, "was only promulgating the doctrine of the right of temporal sovereigns to decide all ecclesiastical authority. . . . Episcopal power passed entirely into the hands of the prince." *Geschichte Deutschlands*, Vol. II., p. 249.

awaited the doughty soul that would question royal supremacy. To continue the unequal struggle at long range, from Douay, Rheims or Salamanca, proved perhaps less dangerous, but despairingly ineffective.

This combination of potential influences only accounts for the propagation of the tradition, but leaves its origin unexplained. How did it take its rise? Under what conditions and circumstances was it fostered? What credence can be attached to its authors?

Taking the queries in the concrete, the answer is—and Protestants are the witnesses—that their true source is misapprehension and misrepresentation, ignorance and prejudice, fabrication and forgery. The ethical code that swayed the historian was of a jelly fish pliancy. It was the glorification of Protestantism primarily, the defense of truth secondarily. If conflict arose between the two postulates, the latter was invariably sacrificed to the former. Truth might be mutilated, its sacred mission prostituted, posterity imposed upon, but the cause of Reform could not be allowed to suffer or the Catholic Church appear in any light than that of the Apocalyptic Vision. No concession to Rome. *Calumniare audacter, semper aliquid adhaeret.*

In Germany Luther himself sounds the keynote. "What harm would there be," says the new Ecclesiastes, "if to accomplish better things and for the sake of the Christian religion, one told a good, thumping lie?"¹ That his followers fully availed themselves of this plenary license is a stain on the escutcheon of a brave people, and the confusion it gave rise to forms the lament of all modern German historians. "The falsification of history during the last three hundred years," is the plaint of Wolfgang Menzel,² "has done an immeasurable amount of harm and occasioned deep shame, and even now the end is not in view, when this falsehood will take an end." "Protestant historians," is the refrain of Töllner, "have made history nothing more than an historic apology for the necessity of ecclesiastical reformation. According to the Protestants, the Church was since the eighth century, the home of ignorance and wickedness. All in authority were abominable heretics and the Church a perfect bedlam (Narrenhaus). . . . The exaggerated care with which they represented all former rulers and leaders of the Church as tyrants and the members as pagans, and the disgraceful neglect with which the exemplary piety existing at all times side by side with the encroaching evil was overlooked—these shortcomings of Protestant historians have been most assiduously used by the opponents of Christianity."³ The great Ger-

¹ "Was wäre es, ob Einer schon um Besseres und der christlichen Kirche willen eine gute starke Lüge thäte." Lenz: "Briefwechsel," etc., Vol. I., p. 382; Kolde: "Analecta Lutherana," p. 356. ² "Kritik des modernen Zeitbewusstseins," 2 Aufl., p. 153. ³ "Vermischte Aufsätze," p. 71.

man historiographer Böhmer, in 1826, already exposes the weakness and imposture of the Reformation historians. "The history of the Reformation," he writes, "demands an entirely new treatment. This I realize the more searchingly I look into the writings of the Reformers themselves, who in the new current representations appear before us in a mythical garment."¹ The slogan "Protestantism is an uninterrupted attack, the utmost straining of every nerve and sinew against Rome; its whole battle is to extirpate Roman Catholic doctrine and energy,"² was then, as it is now, the focus of all its concentrated zeal and activity. If at times some honest and courageous spirit, smarting under the yoke of this oppression of conscience, this muzzling of truth, tried to allay this bitterness, it was only to be "prepared for the most brutal defamation and enmity," says one of the victims, "in spite of all adulation and self-praise of German impartiality the same holds good to-day. Disciples of the school of wisdom who look upon their master [Hegel] as the absolute personification of the Spirit, demand that the Reformation century shall only be written by those who are penetrated with an unshaken conviction that the men of their affected veneration were right in everything, and the opponents just as uniformly and constantly wrong."³ "Because I did not maintain the Pope to be anti-Christ and Rome to be the Babylonian—" says Janssen's great preceptor, Böhmer, "Waitz [professor at Göttingen] declares me destitute of all German patriotism."⁴

When Ranke's "History of the Popes" first appeared, a work which in spite of much painstaking research and documentary copiousness does but scant justice to some of the illustrious men it deals with, he was branded as a "crypto-Catholic" by one of the most conservative and influential journals.⁵ K. A. Menzel in the first volume of his great history of Germany⁶ cut away from the traditional acception of the Reformation and brought the Reformers from the national Walhalla of German myth-history to the critical tribunal of scientific investigation, with the result that he was fiercely attacked by the literary journals and condemned to a conspiracy of silence by the German savants. In language temperate but trenchant he vindicates himself in the preface to the second volume. After his death his editors bodily cut the preface out of the second edition. Novalis pays a most glowing and impassioned tribute to the Catholic Church in one of his most inspirational works.⁷ In the first three editions of the author's complete

¹ Janssen: "Böhmer's Leben und Anschauungen," p. 265. ² Stahl: "Die lutherische Kirche und die Union," p. 455. ³ K. A. Menzel: "Neuere Geschichte," etc., Vol. II., p. 8. ⁴ Janssen, ut supra, p. 22. ⁵ Kreuz-Zeitung, 28 Mai, 1886. ⁶ Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen, 3 vols. Breslau, 1826-30. ⁷ "Die Christenheit oder Europa. Ein Fragment."

works it was omitted. Schlegel insisted upon its insertion in the fourth edition.¹ In the fifth edition Tieck, after Schlegel's conversion, had it again suppressed, and the mutilated edition is still in circulation. Janssen followed the advice of his Protestant master, when, standing before the statue of Charlemagne at Mayence, "that picture tells us what is wanting: a history of the German people from the pen of a Catholic historian; for what we call German history is a mere farce."² He wrote a work that should make him a national classic and hero, but he was denounced by the champions of the tradition as an "historical juggler," "the assassin of historical science," "a traitor to his country;" his masterpiece of German scholarship was "the work of a scoundrel," "a devil's work."³ Even one of the most eminent professors of the Berlin University, Hans Delbrück, went as far as to put the question whether "in view of this densely stupid forger some one did not have the impulse of Hutten when he cut off the ears of the two Dominicans!"⁴

"German historical writing"—to return from the digression and quote Professor Hillebrand—"during the last thirty years [1875] was in its whole character national and Protestant. The learned professors may indulge many illusions concerning their objectivity, their scientific incorruptibility and conscientiousness, concerning the infallibility of their wonderful methods. . . . They have unconsciously and unintentionally served the Protestant and national interests, and in obedience to them have they made history yield, have they sifted and compiled facts. . . . The nation (not the entire nation, but the greater part of the so-called men of culture) was actuated since the twenties with the anti-Catholic, or, rather, anti-Christian spirit."⁵ Caustic and bitter is the arraignment of Professor Scherr (Zurich): "Mammon and Moloch, the golden calf and the brazen steer, money and success, are the only deities in which our epoch believes with sincerity. An immoral writing of history (*Geschichtschreibung*) such as is now prevalent, especially in Germany, prostrates itself before and swings incense to these idols."⁶

It is more than passingly strange that the German Universities, notorious hotbeds of rationalism, pantheism, atheism, are allowed to disseminate their pernicious teachings without molestation or hindrance; but if they dare represent with even an approximation to truth Catholic history or doctrine, consternation seems to take possession of the lay and academic world. The panic is amusingly analogous to that of the Church of England at the present time.

¹ Berlin, 1826, Vol. I., pp. 189, 191, 208. ² Pastor: Johannes Janssen: "Ein Lebensbild." p. 2.

³ Ib., pp. 100, 106. ⁴ "Preussische Jahrbücher," Vol. 53, p. 259. ⁵ Karl Hillebrand: "Zeiten, Völker und Menschen," Vol. II., pp. 317-319. ⁶ T. Scherr: "Von Zurichberg," p. 141, 2 Aufl.

Every shade of theology and neology is complacently tolerated, but the mere suspicion of the odor of incense or the casual whispering of the words, reservation of the sacred species, though the actual meaning of the words has not been defined by dogmatic enactment or primatial decree, all the same it rouses the choleric Briton to a frenzied state of patriotic devotion. Exeter Hall and Trafalgar Square ring with delirious, hysterical protests, Parliamentary seats are jeopardized, Ministries threatened with dissolution, a national crisis like a London fog looms up menacingly over the British Empire. The German Protestant is somewhat like his English brother—whenever he “sees anything in religion which he does not like he always *prima facie* imputes it to the Pope.”¹

If we turn our attention to England, we find the tradition even more deeply rooted, more carefully propagated and the mighty arm of the State for nearly three centuries barricading every avenue that might disturb its peace or threaten its security. With the most inhuman proscriptive enactments against the Catholic episcopate and priesthood, the printing of Catholic literature made a treasonable offense, the adherents and advocates of the ancient faith martyred, the tradition, though seated on a throne, propped by the bayonet and sword, with every advantage of human influence and royal power, all the same met the fate of historical falsification and had to bite the dust in the end. The very names that once were indissolubly identified with the history of the English Reformation have lost their authority, are quoted with feelings of distrust, treated with contempt and of about as much interest to the scientific historian, as the provender which the saurians and crustaceans munched in pre-diluvian days is to the political economist.

Maitland,² and no better authority could be produced, writes that “for the history of the Reformation in England we depend so much on the testimony of writers who may be considered as belonging or more or less attached to the puritan party, or who obtained their information from persons of that sect, that it is of the utmost importance to inquire whether there was anything in their notions respecting *truth*, which ought to throw suspicion on any of their statements.” He continues: “There is something very frank (one is almost inclined to say honest) in the avowals, either

¹ Bagehot: “Literary Studies,” Vol. II., p. 6r. ² “Let me name a historian who detested fine writing and who never said to himself, ‘Go to; I will make a description,’ and who yet was dominated by a love for facts, whose one desire always was to know what happened to dispel illusion and establish the true account—Dr. S. R. Maitland, of the Lambeth Library, whose volumes entitled ‘The Dark Ages’ and ‘The Reformation’ are to History what Milton’s ‘Lycidas’ is said to be to poetry: if they do not interest you, your tastes are not historical.”—Augustin Birrell, Contemp. Rev., June, 1885, p. 775.

direct or indirect, which various puritans have left on record that it was considered not only allowable, but meritorious, to tell lies for the sake of the good cause in which they were engaged."¹

Unconsciously Foxe, to whom Maitland alludes, absorbed the same conception of truth as Luther. He was the fountain head of the English Reformation history, the reservoir that fed all the smaller tributaries, the cribbing ground of almost every subsequent writer. Maitland finds his work fairly bristling with the grossest and at times most ludicrous perversions of truth. His credulity is phenomenal, his ignorance palpable, his falsehoods transparent.²

Men, measures, scenes and all
Misquoting, misstating,
Misplacing, misdating.

It can hardly be a matter of surprise that Brewer accuses him of downright falsehood and forgery. "Had he," writes the English historian, "been an honest man, his carelessness and credulity would have incapacitated him from being a trustworthy historian. Unfortunately he was not honest; he tampered with the documents that came into his hands."³ Burnet, the other column supporting the Reformation's historical arch, was certainly a scholarly man, and had access to a perfect treasure-trove of unpublished documents; but, as his editor proves, "his dates are nearly as often wrong as right, while with regard to individuals, he constantly makes mistakes from mere ignorance of the history of the period. . . . He selected from the immense mass of papers which were open to inspection such as suited his purpose. . . . He can never be trusted except when he gives a reference, and will be generally found to have misrepresented the author he quotes."⁴ Mackintosh, the Scotch historian, calls him a "purveying advocate," and, to show his utter contempt for him, continues: "To express astonishment at this would perhaps argue a want of due acquaintance with human nature and with Burnet."⁵

In Scotland our Reformation data came from the pens of Knox and Buchanan. Of the former Dr. Whitaker, Regius professor in the University of Cambridge, writes, and with abundant illustrations presents a formidable indictment, "that he was an original genius in lying . . . that he felt his mind impregnated with a peculiar portion of falsehood which is so largely possessed by the father of lies."⁶ Of the latter he continues "that he became equally devoid of principle and of shame, ready for any fabrication

¹ "Essays on subjects connected with the Reformation in England."—S. R. Maitland, D. D., F. R. S., F. S. A., p. 1, 1849. ² Eight glaring blunders are pointed out on one random page by Maitland. "Six Letters on Fox's Acts and Monuments," p. 40. ³ Brewer: "Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic," etc., Vol. I., p. 60, pref. ⁴ N. Pocock: "Christian Remembrancer," Vol. XLIX., pp. 147, 183. ⁵ Mackintosh: "History of the Revolution," p. 617. Lond., 1834. ⁶ J. Whitaker: "Mary Queen of Scots Vindicated," Vol. II., p. 22.

of falsehood and capable of any operation of villainy."¹ The language may sound harsh and intemperate, but it must be borne in mind that his falsehoods were of a nature to compel the interposition of a special Parliamentary act to expurgate them. At Oxford his book was publicly burned. It seems that shameless dishonesty and conscienceless garbling of documents was the prominent attribute of the Reformation historian of that period, or why should the same Dr. Whitaker have the confession wrung from his saddened heart. "Forgery—I blush for the honor of Protestantism while I write—seems to have been peculiar to the Reformed. I look in vain for one of those accursed outrages of imposition among the disciples of Popery!"²

With Foxe and Burnet in England, Knox and Buchanan in Scotland, found lacking the constitutive principles of reliable historians, their honesty impugned, their veracity successfully challenged, "the credit of their copyists has also disappeared," and with their disappearance the fate of historical falsification becomes not only an unsightly actuality, but manifests the hand of God in visible retributive justice.

The pathway of the three last centuries is strewn with the wreckage of historical falsehood. The triumph of truth may be impeded, but with crushing step it will and must move on. The disappearance of the phantasmal Popess Joanna, the darkness lifted from the Middle Ages, the explosion of the Gunpowder Plot, the leveling of the "tall bully" that commemorated the Popish plot to burn London, the moribund Galileo myth, the supposititious divine mission of the Reformers, the tottering St. Bartholomew legend, the misty Inquisition spectre, whose total disappearance was only prevented by Llorente's assassination of the witnesses, all, all prove that the Catholic Church has nothing to fear, all to hope and gain by the new scientific school of history. Its guiding maxims resolve themselves into the simple but adequate law laid down to the Catholic historian by the present illustrious Pontiff Leo XIII.: "The first law of history is not to tell a lie; the second, not to fear to tell the truth." In this he more than anticipates—sees the full and glorious realization of the prediction made by one of France's most commanding intellects, Alexis de Tocqueville—that "*the restoration of the science of history is the restoration of Catholic greatness.*"

H. G. GANSS.

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¹ Ib.

² Ib., p. 2.

RACE WAR AND NEGRO DEMORALIZATION.

FROM the date of the introduction of negro slavery as a general system in the American colonies down to the present hour the race problem has cast its dark shadow over the fair face of the land. We always had the trouble with us, in one form or another. In the old slave-holding days the horrors of the social ulcer were not all confined to the unhappy race who paid the penalty of human greed; the moral torture of a portion at least of the stronger population at the spectacle of degraded and brutalized humanity was keener because more exquisite than the pangs of outraged nature and family affection among the sable thralls. Nemesis, surely, was never more appallingly realized than in the punishment which has followed the introduction of this moral poison into our national veins. Emancipation, which it was fondly hoped might bring its own solution of the ethical problem, has failed to civilize the negro. With the baldest outfit of education and the lowest plane of moral perceptions, he has been brought into contact with the vices of a political condition in which all the resources of a perverted white intellect and all the passion for power and profit and political intrigue are utilized without scruple and with a total disregard of the moral consequences. The shadow deepens, rather than declines, as the years roll on. In the early days of the trouble the only factor resorted to for the settlement of race conflicts was the shot-gun. It is to-day the shot-gun, with the addition of the hangman's rope by way of variety, and now and again the blazing pile and the implements of torture, as seen in use among the aborigines in the early days of colonial settlement.

The immediate causes of the race conflicts have been various—often, perhaps chiefly, they arise from the political aspects of the question; sometimes they grow out of the difficulties of the social problem, and sometimes, as in the matter of lynchings, they grow out of immorality and lawlessness.

Of late the lynchings have mostly occupied the public mind, and for some months one has scarcely been able to pick up the daily papers without seeing in any one of them reports of one, two or even three lynchings for that crime which all white men in the South hold as the greatest and most detestable, and which has been properly termed the "nameless crime" of criminal assault. It would indeed have been remarkable if these lynchings had not increased the tendency towards conflict between the races, and had not engendered recriminations and bitterness. On the one hand

the white people of the South have been painted as lawless and cruel, carried away by unwarranted prejudice against the negro; on the other, fierce denunciations have been made against the immorality of the negroes, the usual cause of the lynchings. With the former question this article does not intend to deal; but it is thought that some service may be rendered by giving at this time an idea of the condition of morality among the negroes, an explanation of the causes which have led up to their present moral condition, and a remedy, which the writer believes to be the only true one suggested.

I.

The status of negro morality may perhaps receive its fullest general illustration from the last United States census, which presents the following comparative table of criminal statistics. It will be noted that under the head of "colored" the census includes "persons of negro descent, Chinese, Japanese and civilized Indians." The last three classes, however, are too insignificant in numbers to be taken into practical account:

Number of prisoners in the United States, classified by sex, general nativity and color, and offenses committed, 1890:

Offenses.	Total.	Males.	Fe-		Nat. white		For'gn white		Colored c	
			a	b	Males	Fem's	Mal's Fem's	Fem's	Mal's Fem's	Fem's
All offenses.....	82,329	75,924	6,405	38,156	2,315	13,869	2,063	23,030	1,989	
Against the government....	1,839	1,823	16	1,188	8	439	6	191	2	
Against the currency.....	389	385	4	260	2	97	2	27	..	
Against the election laws..	69	67	2	39	2	12	..	16	..	
Against the postal laws....	299	297	2	220	1	40	1	35	..	
Against the revenue laws...	290	284	6	170	1	55	3	58	2	
Against the pension laws...	28	26	2	16	2	3	..	7	..	
Against the military laws...	764	764	..	483	..	232	..	48	..	
Against society.....	18,865	15,033	3,832	7,784	1,572	4,346	1,557	2,708	695	
Against public health.....	11	11	..	3	..	7	..	1	..	
Against public justice.....	729	682	47	347	17	77	8	254	21	
Against public morals.....	10,100	8,001	2,099	4,283	952	2,438	836	1,178	306	
Against public peace.....	4,944	3,676	1,268	1,623	426	1,033	590	989	250	
Against public policy.....	3,081	2,663	418	1,528	177	791	123	286	118	
Against the person.....	17,281	16,511	770	6,852	220	2,976	110	6,580	434	
Homicide.....	7,351	6,958	393	3,045	112	1,163	50	2,698	228	
Rape.....	1,392	1,387	5	607	2	200	1	576	2	
Abduction.....	155	140	15	74	8	23	2	42	5	
Abortion.....	36	25	11	18	7	5	3	2	1	
Assault.....	8,347	8,001	346	3,108	91	1,585	54	3,262	198	
Against property.....	37,707	36,382	1,325	19,668	375	5,313	282	11,155	650	
Arson.....	886	806	80	303	22	124	9	372	49	
Burglary.....	9,734	9,647	87	5,392	16	1,404	6	2,791	65	
Robbery.....	2,381	2,350	31	1,439	11	325	5	573	15	
Larceny, not specified.....	8,403	7,978	425	3,705	92	1,079	103	3,166	225	
Grand larceny.....	6,731	6,411	320	3,571	95	962	65	1,877	159	
Petit larceny.....	3,741	3,475	266	1,828	89	545	72	1,077	100	
Larceny of horses.....	1,632	1,627	5	923	5	187	..	485	..	
Receiving stolen goods.....	487	430	57	247	25	106	14	75	18	

Offenses.	Total.	Males. ^a	Fe- males. ^b	Nat. white			For'gn white		Colored c	
				Males	Fem's	Mal's Fem's	Mal's Fem's	Mal's Fem's	Mal's Fem's	Mal's Fem's
Embezzlement.....	485	480	5	320	1	85	..	72	85	3
Fraud.....	886	868	18	524	6	136	2	200	10	
Forgery.....	1,887	1,865	22	1,201	13	276	2	372	7	
Malicious mischief and trespass.....	454	445	9	215	..	84	4	144	5	
On the high seas.....	4	4	..	2	..	2	..	..	..
Murder at sea.....	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Assault at sea.....	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Piracy.....	2	2	..	1	..	1	..	..	..
Miscellaneous.....	6,633	6,171	462	2,662	140	793	108	2,396	202	
Double crimes.....	3,449	3,367	82	1,747	26	415	23	1,194	33	
Violation of municipal ordinances.....	488	388	100	152	27	81	27	150	46	
Unclassified.....	53	53	..	11	..	4	..	38	..	
Not stated.....	2,286	2,101	185	641	63	240	48	934	69	
Held as insane.....	291	212	79	90	18	42	7	62	47	
Held as witnesses.....	66	50	16	21	6	11	3	18	7	

^a Includes 869 prisoners whose nativity is unknown. ^b Includes 38 prisoners whose nativity is unknown. ^c Persons of negro descent, Chinese, Japanese and civilized Indians.

On this Henry Gannet observes ("Statistics of the Negroes in the United States," by Henry Gannet):

"The proportion of criminals among the negroes is much greater than among the whites. The statistics of the last census show that the white prisoners of native extraction confined in jails at the time the census was taken were in the proportion of 9 to each 10,000 of all whites of native extraction while the negro prisoners were in the proportion of 33 to each 10,000 of the negro population. Thus it appears that the proportion of negroes was nearly four times as great as for the whites of native extraction. It should be added, however, that the commitments of negroes are for petty offenses in much greater proportion than among the whites."

If we should exclude the population under 15 years of age, which practically does not come under the law, the proportion would be yet higher against the negro.

This surely is an astounding state of morality. That the negro should have against him a criminal record three to four times as great as that of the whites is something appalling. Yet, dark as the picture is, it is made still darker if we consider the nature of the negro's chief criminality. The following table will bring this out still more clearly than the general census: (Hoffman, p. 219.)

FEMALES.

	Total No. of Prisoners.	Colored Prisoners.	Col. Prisoners Per Cent.
Offenses against the government.....	16	2	12.50
Offenses against society.....	3,832	683	17.58
Offenses against the person.....	770	432	56.10

	Total No. of Prisoners.	Colored Prisoners.	Col. Prisoners Per Cent.
Offenses against property.....	1,325	655	49.43
Offenses of a miscellaneous character.	462	200	43.29
Aggregate.....	6,405	1,972	30.79
Proportion of colored population over 15 years of age in total (female), 11.09 per cent.			
MALES.			
	Total No. of Prisoners.	Colored Prisoners.	Col. Prisoners Per Cent.
Offenses against the government.....	1,823	176	9.65
Offenses against society.....	15,033	2,577	17.14
Offenses against the person.....	16,511	6,308	38.21
Offenses against property.....	36,382	10,924	30.03
Offenses of a miscellaneous character.	6,175	2,320	37.95
Aggregate.....	75,924	22,305	29.38
Proportion of colored population over 15 years of age in total (males), 10.20 per cent.			

The proportion of colored males is slightly above 10 per cent. of the whole population; but his crimes, according to the census, against *the person* are above 38 per cent.! The colored females are in proportion slightly above 11 per cent. of the total female population, whereas their crimes against *the person* are above 56 per cent. of all such crimes committed by women. This means that with regard to the most serious of all crimes—those against the person—the negro is from 4 to 5½ times as criminal as his white brother!

The following table will bring out more clearly still the specified offenses: (See Hoffman, p. 220.)

	Total No. of Prisoners.	Colored Prisoners.	Col. Prisoners Per Cent.
MALE PRISONERS.			
Crimes against the person—			
Homicide	6,958	2,512	36.10
Rape	1,387	567	40.88
Abduction	140	32	22.86
Abortion	25	2	8.00
Assault	8,001	3,195	39.93
Crimes against property—			
Arson	806	372	46.15
Burglary	9,647	2,710	28.09
Robbery	2,350	555	23.62
Larceny	7,978	3,126	39.18
Grand larceny.....	6,411	1,774	27.67
Petty larceny.....	3,475	1,055	30.36

FEMALE PRISONERS.

	Total No. of Prisoners.	Colored Prisoners.	Col. Prisoners Per Cent.
Crimes against the person—			
Homicide	393	227	57.76
Assault	346	198	57.23
Crimes against property—			
Arson	80	49	61.25
Larceny	425	225	52.94
Grand larceny.....	320	159	49.67
Petty larceny.....	266	99	37.22

On this Hoffman observes ("Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro," by Frederick L. Hoffman, F. S. S.):

"The table fully explains itself and needs little comment. Of homicides the colored prisoners formed 36.1 per cent. For the most atrocious of all crimes, rape, 40.88 per cent. of the prisoners convicted were colored, and for assault 39.98 per cent. The proportion of colored females charged with homicide was even greater than that of males, and the same is true for the cases of assault."

If, following Gannet's mode, we compared the negro only with the native white population, the record against him would give him 50 per cent. of all the *convictions* for rape! If, again, we took into account the number of those crimes committed in the South for which there is neither trial nor conviction, but lynching pure and simple, the percentage would probably swell to from 70 to 90 per cent. That is to say, for the most bestial and detestable of all crimes against the person, the negro is 7 to 9 times as great a criminal as the white man!

Let it not be thought, as some may imagine, that this result of the criminal record of the negro is brought about by severity and discrimination against the negro in the courts of the South. In those portions of the country which have ever boasted a partiality for the colored brother the same evidences of negro criminality are found, as the following table from Hoffman's work—page 221—will show:

CONVICTS IN PENNSYLVANIA PENITENTIARY, 1886 AND 1894.

MALES.

	Total.	Colored.	Percentage of Colored.
1886.....	1,730	244	14.10
1894.....	2,312	384	16.61

FEMALES.

1886.....	41	14	34.15
1894.....	52	18	34.61

Percentage of colored in total population over 15 years of age:
Males, 2.23; females, 2.09.

It will be seen that in Pennsylvania, where the negro males formed only 2 per cent. of the male population and the negro females about 2 per cent. of the female population, 16 per cent. of the male convicts and 34 per cent. of the female convicts were negroes. In New Jersey the same status is observed, the negroes forming 17 per cent. of the male and 34 per cent. of the female convicts, although the negro men are only about 3 1-2 per cent. of the whole male population and the negro women about the same of the whole female population.

And so it is elsewhere—wherever, in fact, so far as the writer has ascertained, the negro exists in the United States.

There are two points not sufficiently emphasized by these statistics, yet whose existence no man doubts. Moreover, they are so important that negro morality cannot be properly appreciated without taking them into consideration. The first of these is the negro's tendency to steal, his dishonesty; the second his sensuality.

In the table given on pages 91-92 it will be noted that the negro is charged with 30 to 49 per cent. of the offenses against property. And, as has been observed, Henry Gannet notes that commitments of the negro for "petty offenses" is in much greater proportion than among the whites. So universal, however, are these petty offenses, the majority of which never come to court, that there is everywhere a general mistrust of the negro. In the South it is seldom that a housekeeper having negro servants will leave her goods exposed or unkept of key. It is seldom, too, that a negro can obtain credit at stores without ironclad legal security. This habit of dishonesty the negro may have had in savagery or may have acquired in slavery; but whatever excuse there may be for it, it exists among them to such an extent that it may well be reckoned a racial characteristic.

As to their sensuality, it would be impossible for those who have not lived among them to know how sadly prominent it is as the besetting sin of the race. Whilst it is not possible to bring forward much official data on this point, and we are left largely to private testimony, still some indications can be noted which will give us something of a correct idea.

It will be remembered that the criminal sensuality of the negro, as expressed in the crime of rape, was enormous—put down as not less than 7 to 9 times as great as among the whites. This is rendered still more striking if we reflect that the negro commits this crime in the South where he knows that in every case he is certain of sure, swift and terrible punishment—nothing less than lynching, and sometimes burning at the stake by a frenzied mob.

How great must be the sensual tendency which causes the negro,

in spite of this knowledge, to burst all bonds and to rush to such terrible destruction, we leave the reader to consider. Nor is this indication of sensuality lessened if we look to milder forms of expression. The following table of illegitimate births is given by the official records of Washington City:

PERCENTAGE OF ILLEGITIMATE IN TOTAL NUMBER OF BIRTHS,
1879-1894.

(Report of the Health Officer of the District of Columbia 1894,
p. 152.)

	White.	Colored.
1879.....	2.32	17.60
1880.....	2.43	19.02
1881.....	2.33	19.42
1882.....	2.09	19.73
1883.....	3.14	20.95
1884.....	3.60	19.02
1885.....	3.00	22.88
1886.....	3.28	22.86
1887.....	3.34	21.27
1888.....	3.49	22.18
1889.....	3.59	23.45
1891.....	2.90	25.12
1892.....	2.53	26.40
1893.....	2.82	27.00
1894.....	2.56	26.46
<hr/>		
Average 1879-94.....	2.92	22.49

Such is the condition of affairs in Washington City, where it is natural to expect that the negro would make an especially good showing for himself. Washington is the very Mecca of the negro in this country. Hither he has flocked in such numbers that he forms about one-third of the entire population. Here he has churches and schools and position such as he possesses nowhere else. The record gives him no less than seventy-seven churches, he is endowed here with schools the most superb, his status and independence here is higher perhaps than anywhere else on earth, and yet even here the official records, which are necessarily defective, declare that he is from ten to eleven times as sensual as the white man—that more than one-fourth of his children are born bastards!

In other places the facts are even more damaging to him than in Washington, and it must also be noted that where such illegitimacy

so universally reigns, there must be an enormous amount of sensuality multiplied of which no record is or can be kept.

If, again, we turn to diseases which are caused by sexual vices, we find an equally enormous disproportion in regard to the two races, as will be seen from the following table, taken from Hoffman's monograph, page 94:

MORTALITY FROM SCROFULA AND VENEREAL DISEASES, BALTIMORE AND WASHINGTON, 1885-1890.

(Per 100,000 of Population.)

	Baltimore.	Scrofula. Washington.	Baltimore.	Contagious Diseases. Washington.
White	6.12	5.28	3.06	5.89
Colored	29.09	38.39	13.29	23.89

Per cent. of excess of

negro mortality..	375.30	627.10	344.30	305.60
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The subject might be pursued very far, but enough has been said to show that this vice of sensuality is a most marked and prevalent one among the colored people, and to prove also that the negro is sunken in moral or immoral condition three or four times as degraded as that among the whites, and that he develops his most powerful vicious tendencies in the worst classes of crimes—those against the person.

This picture, however, of negro immorality would be incomplete if we did not bear in mind the following points, viz.: that the negro's appreciation of crime is not so strong as that of the white man, and that there is in him a great weakness of will power. The negro mind, taken in general, does not develop to that full maturity of judgment and perception to be found in the whites, and, as Booker Washington observes, he seems not to possess that strength and tenacity of will so necessary in overcoming difficulties. The importance of these facts in regard to morality cannot be easily exaggerated. On the one hand they lessen the negro's guilt, on the other his elevation to a higher standard is rendered much more difficult.

Nor should this portion of the subject be closed without observing that crime has not among the colored people the stigma cast upon it which it has among the white people. The colored criminal is seldom barred from his wonted society by the commission or conviction of crime; he is not shunned by his fellows; he suffers from no change of feeling in his regard unless, indeed, it be that he is oftentimes made a hero of. Not infrequently does it happen that when a number of negro criminals are to be carried to the penitentiary they are surrounded at the depot by their friends and receive

a farewell ovation to be excelled in hearty good will and friendliness only by the welcome which awaits them upon their return from prison. And the crime? Well, the gentlemen of color made a mistake—like some of their rich white brethren—the mistake of being caught!

II.

How has the negro fallen so low? How has it happened that forming one-seventh of the population he stands distinguished from the rest of the inhabitants of the country not alone by strong marks of repugnant difference in color and physiognomy, but above all by a criminality so greatly out of his proper proportion?

The answer takes us far back into history, but it is easily found. When the African was brought to America he was a perfect savage, with the undeveloped moral sense of the savage. Up to thirty-four years ago he was treated under a Protestant system of slavery as a piece of property; and whilst it is untrue that the slave-holders were unkind to their slaves or were not provident for them in a material way, it is undeniable that no adequate attention was paid to their moral and spiritual welfare. Indeed, investigation would most probably show that almost as little was done for them in these respects as if they had possessed no souls at all.

Under practical Catholic masters this sad neglect could not exist, and would never be tolerated by the Church. Where Catholics who heeded the voice of the Church possessed slaves, they were under the strictest obligation to look after their religious welfare, and the result of such care on the part of the Church is seen in every part of the globe wherever Catholic slave-holders once existed. In the United States it is owing to this fact mainly that we have any negro Catholics at all. That the morals of these negro Catholics, who are attentive to their religious duties, is of a high standard will be attested by those who have worked amongst them.

But the majority, almost the universality of slave-holders in the South were Protestants of some denomination. Protestantism could bind them to nothing. They felt no obligation regarding the morals of their slaves, and they practically fulfilled none. Whatever improvement came to the negroes in slavery in this regard was from contact with the whites, which was much more intimate in the days of slavery than it has been since. But no man will contend that this was of a character sufficiently efficacious for their complete upraising.

The reader, however, may ask: "But since those days of slavery has not much been done? Have not the negroes been abundantly

supplied with schools and churches and ministers? Have not millions upon millions been poured out for the uplifting of the freedman?"

Truly may we answer "Yes" to these questions. Upon no people that ever existed upon the face of the earth have so much treasure and other aid been expended as upon the colored people of the United States for their upraising. The private donations for this purpose from individuals in the North have been so lavish that such men as Dr. J. L. M. Curry have felt themselves obliged to call publicly for a cessation of such charity and to advise that it be not given except through certain fixed channels. Nor have the white people of the Southern States, unjustly held up though they often are as being inimical to the negro, been behind in their efforts for his advancement. At great sacrifice to themselves in the midst of new conditions and pressing poverty, it is computed that they have given for the education alone of the negro no less than seventy-five or eighty millions of dollars within twenty years.

The negro everywhere has his churches and his schools. He is naturally religious and a great church-goer; and as to ministers, he has perhaps more to the square mile than any other people in this country. His crimes, however, have not diminished; his attacks upon persons and property are as grave and numerous as ever; his propensity to pilfering has not grown less; and, if we are to judge by statistics, his lust has greatly increased.

Nor will the reader be astonished at this result if he take time to carefully investigate the means employed to elevate negro morality. It is to be borne in mind that the negro was and is four times as immoral as the white man, with abnormal propensities to stealing and lust—the last being the most difficult passion of human nature to control. It will further be borne in mind that the negro possesses an extremely weak will. To raise this weak race from the low condition of morality in which it was sunken and to which it was and is chained by the strongest passions, two levers presented themselves—the school and the church.

As to the school, to educate a man without at the same time training him to virtue and religion is simply to increase his capacity for wickedness. The history of the world does not show that nations grew in virtue as they increased their knowledge. Nor will any one pretend that a comparison of nations to-day will prove that the better educated are more virtuous than the ignorant. Education divorced from religion, so far from making men more moral, will but give them an increased capacity for vice. Now of all the systems of education ever devised by the human brain there is not one less calculated to uplift the negro than the one adopted and

under which the mass of the negroes are as a matter of fact being taught, viz., the public school system of the United States. Under this system it is absolutely forbidden to give any religious education. "The public school," say its advocates, "is not for religion and morals. These are to be left to the individual and the church. The object of the school is simply to impart knowledge and to develop the mind." To expect the elevation of morals from such a source is absurd upon its face. Yet this is the system which was expected to raise up one of the most morally degraded people on earth who pretend to any degree of Christian civilization—a people weak of will and held in thrall by the strongest passions of human nature!

Nor is it surprising that the religion of the negro has not produced better results. There has never, perhaps, been given anywhere or at any time so striking an example of the inefficiency of Protestantism in a missionary field as the spectacle it has presented in its treatment of the negro, both during and since slavery. Here was a race of people professing Protestantism, but sunk to a low moral condition and practically ignorant of even Protestant Christianity, and yet scarcely one white Protestant missionary could be found to devote himself to them. It is true that here and there, where masters or mistresses were of a specially devout turn of mind, there were some sporadic efforts made at religious training and instruction, but when all is said the fact remains that the amount of Christian teaching and moral training which the slaves received was so meagre as to put to shame any people professing the name of Christian.

After the Civil War the negroes, practically forced out of the white churches, were compelled to congregate by themselves and to choose their ministers from their own race, ministers mostly as ignorant and undeveloped as was the flock which they were to preach to.

And what a religion they adopted! Had they taken the entire catalogue of Christian sects which have arisen since the commencement of the Christian era, they could hardly have adopted one less calculated to raise them from their sunken condition than Protestantism. Born of lust and license, teaching nothing definite, allowing the individual by the principle of private interpretation to believe what he pleases and practice what he chooses, Protestantism is nothing more than a glittering generality. Such a system of religion served the negro in no other respect than to satisfy in a vague way his natural desire for a religion of some kind. To expect that it would serve to impel the negro to self-abnegation and sacrifice, that it would strengthen his weak will to overcome his

strong passions, that it would inspire him with the determination to undertake the most difficult of all conquests—that of immoral tendencies and fleshly appetites—was simply expecting an impossibility.

The moral condition of the negro is therefore a logical outcome of Protestant principles—they believe what they choose and practice what they wish—proving it all by the Bible. Though they spend the Sundays in church-going, in singing, in shouting, in preaching and in praying, their religion has so little moral effect upon their lives that most of them will at the same time that they are working themselves up into a frenzy of excitement by their exhortings and prayer meetings, carry on the most shockingly immoral practices without apparently so much as a qualm of conscience. Religion and morality are two separate and divorced subjects.

Such has been the work of Protestantism on the negroes, offering no practical bar to, if not logically enforcing, the degraded moral condition in which they had sunken.

What, then, is the prospect for the negro? Is he to remain in his present condition? *Can* he remain in his present condition? Can this weak race survive in the state of moral degradation in which it is to-day? Is it doomed to destruction, or is there a means to save it and raise it up?

The last census, indeed, shows that the negro is on the increase, but not in so great proportion as the native white population. But independently of this there are authors like Hoffman who point out the fact which is everywhere admitted that the negroes are physically deteriorating, and that certain diseases which they attribute to their immorality are being propagated enormously amongst them at an ever increasing ratio.

The black man was not formerly more subject to these diseases than the white man, yet through them the constitution of the whole colored race is now being gradually undermined, and each generation is less and less resistive of their attacks, until in the process of time the negro must disappear unless there be placed a more efficacious bar to his immorality than any yet applied. The following are tables of statistics which will illustrate the progress of the diseases above referred to: (See Hoffman, pp. 80, 83, 84, 85, 94.)

CONSUMPTION IN CHARLESTON, S. C.
(Death rate per 100,000 of population.)

Period.	White.	Colored.
1822-30.....	457	447
1831-40.....	331	320
1841-48.....	268	266

Period.	White.	Colored.
1865-74.....	198	411
1875-84.....	255	668
1885-94.....	189	627
—	—	—
1822-1848.....	347	342
1865-1894.....	213	576

MORTALITY FROM CONSUMPTION IN FOURTEEN AMERICAN CITIES.

(Rate per 100,000 population, 1890.)

	White.	Colored.
Charleston, S. C.....	355.4	686.3
New Orleans, La.....	250.3	587.7
Savannah, Ga.....	371.1	544.0
Mobile, Ala.....	304.1	608.2
Atlanta, Ga.....	213.8	483.7
Richmond, Va.....	230.5	411.1
Baltimore, Md.....	250.6	524.6
Washington, D. C.....	245.0	591.8
Brooklyn, N. Y.....	284.9	539.0
New York, N. Y.....	379.6	845.2
Boston, Mass.....	365.8	884.8
Philadelphia, Pa.....	269.4	532.5
St. Louis, Mo.....	159.9	605.9
Cincinnati, Ohio.....	239.1	633.3

MORTALITY FROM PNEUMONIA IN TWO CITIES.

(Death rate per 100,000 living at same age.)

	White. Ages 8 to 5.	Colored. Ages 8 to 5.	Col. over white Per Cent.
Baltimore, Md.....	645.01	2158.95	234.72
Washington, D. C.....	466.17	1642.15	252.26
	Ages 5 to 15.		
Baltimore, Md.....	37.52	105.01	179.87
Washington, D. C.....	28.08	119.72	326.35
	Ages 15 to 45.		
Baltimore, Md.....	74.20	123.74	66.76
Washington, D. C.....	69.32	194.00	179.86
	Ages 45 and over.		
Baltimore, Md.....	323.93	360.53	14.39
Washington, D. C.....	274.18	446.28	62.77

There has already been given in this article a table setting forth the mortality resulting from diseases more directly due to immorality than the above.

It is asserted that the negro by excessive unchastity, chiefly through prostitution with the whites, is undermining his constitu-

tion and hence becomes an easy and ever increasing prey to these diseases. The following extracts from the "Report on the Social and Physical Condition of Negroes in Cities," by Professor Eugene Harris, himself a negro, bears out this assertion with fearful force:

"From 1870 to 1880 the negro population increased nearly 36 per cent.; from 1880 to 1890 the increase was only a little over 13 per cent. This is about one-half the rate of increase among the whites.

"For the year 1895, when 82 white deaths from consumption occurred in the city of Nashville, there ought to have been only 49 colored, whereas there really were 218, or nearly four and one-half times as many as there ought to have been. It is an occasion of serious alarm when 37 per cent. of the whole people are responsible for 72 per cent. of the deaths from consumption. Deaths among colored people from pulmonary diseases seem to be on the increase throughout the South. During the period 1882-1885 the excess of colored deaths (over white) for the city of Memphis was 90.80 per cent. For the period 1891-1895 the excess had risen to over 137 per cent. For the period of 1886-1890 the excess of colored deaths from consumption and pneumonia for the city of Atlanta was 139 per cent. For the period 1891-1895 it had risen to nearly 166 per cent. . . . Before the (civil) war this dread disease was virtually unknown among the slaves. According to Hoffman, deaths from consumption have fallen off 134 in 100,000 among the whites and increased 234 in 100,000 among the blacks since the war.

"The constitutional diseases which are responsible for our unusual mortality are often traceable to enfeebled constitutions, broken down by sexual immoralities. According to Hoffman, over 25 per cent. of the negro children born in Washington City are admittedly illegitimate. According to a writer quoted in 'Black America,' in one county in Mississippi there were during twelve months 300 marriage licenses taken out in the County Clerk's office for white people. According to the proportion of population there should have been in the same time 1,200 or more for negroes. There were actually taken out by colored people just three. . . . A few years ago I said in a sermon at Fisk University that wherever the Anglo-Saxon comes into contact with an inferior race the inferior race invariably goes to the wall. I called attention to the fact that, in spite of humanitarian and philanthropic efforts, the printing press, the steam engine and the electric motor in the hands of the Anglo-Saxon were exterminating the inferior races more rapidly and more surely than shot and shell and bayonet. I mentioned a number of races that have perished, not because of destructive wars and pestilence, but because they were unable to

live in the environment of a nineteenth century civilization; races whose destruction was not due to a persecution that came to them from without, but to lack of moral stamina within; races that perished in spite of the humanitarian and philanthropic efforts that were put forth to save them."

Nor let the idea be thought a vain one. No individual or race can sin vitally against nature's laws and live. An example and object lesson in this we possess in the population of Hawaii. Seventy years ago, according to Charles Gulick, the Hawaiians, whose territory we have so lately and so graciously stolen, were a race of uncorrupted children, sweet, gentle, generous, hospitable. We gave them seventy years of "Protestant missionary efforts," schools and teachers without stint. Read the record of their population since that time: (See Hoffman, p. 319.)

ACTUAL AND RELATIVE DECREASE IN THE POPULATION OF
HAWAII 67 YEARS.

1823.....	142,000
1853.....	71,019
1872.....	49,044
1890.....	34,436
Total decrease.....	107,564

Per cent. of decrease, 75.8; average annual per cent., 1.12.

It is clear that their sun is set, and in a few years they will be forgotten. The cause of it? Unchastity, chiefly with the whites. The same cause is now operating with the negroes, and the facts cannot but cause grave concern to every friend of the negro race. Is there nothing that can stem the tide? Is there no balm in Gilead for this terrible sore? Secular education has been tried and has failed. Protestantism has been tried and has failed. But there is a regenerating and uplifting power which as yet has not really entered into the struggle, and to it we must look for the gaining of the victory—the energetic work of the Catholic Church and the Catholic school. Without this there is no hope for the negro. State schools without religion cannot correct and elevate a degraded moral condition. Protestantism has had the negroes in its hands for many years during slavery and since slavery; it has multiplied its establishments and poured out its millions in mission work, yet it cannot be shown that it has benefited the negro morally. He is undoubtedly worse than when it took hold of him. Only the energetic work of the Catholic Church and the Catholic school can raise up the negro from his degraded condition and save him.

The Catholic Church is a mother to all men, and takes the negro lovingly to her bosom, cherishing him there and insisting upon his perfect equality with the rest of her children, displaying a special kindness and love for *him* because he is poor, downtrodden and sunken. She sends forth her clergy, trained and educated, to devote and sacrifice their lives to his every need. She presents the word of God to him, not doubtfully, but teaching and interpreting it with infallible certainty and commanding by divine authority. She permits no opinions, but a clear fixed code of belief and morals, which by divine command she enforces upon all alike. She cherishes with loving, constant care each individual soul. She goes into the conscience and regulates that upon each of its acts. She holds a man constantly to that fixed definite regulation by the confessional, and she causes him to do penance for its every violation. She preaches no easy doctrine of the forgiveness of sins—a fatal defect in Protestantism in its work against immorality, especially in reference to the negro. Moreover, her religious exercises, her sacraments, her spiritual direction, her sermons, preached and enforced with divine authority—in a word, her whole system of teaching and practice is eminently qualified to aid the negro, to meet his needs and to raise him from his degraded condition.

But the work of the Church cannot be expected to have its full effect upon the older population. It is hard to straighten a tree which has already attained its growth. But taking the young people and training them in her schools, the Catholic Church would be the salvation of the negro. She would surround his weakness with every aid; she would correct his morals, especially his propensities to stealing and lust, most effectually, and she would, by consequence, avert his present physical deterioration and probable future destruction, caused by his present immoral life. Under her loving and fostering care he would rise to a new life and assume amongst the rest of the population that position for which God has destined him.

That the work of the Catholic Church is effectual on the negroes is well attested by those who have worked amongst them. The negroes who are practical Catholics lead moral and edifying lives in striking contrast with those outside of the Church, and some of them would rank with our best Catholics in any portion of the globe. Many thoughtful Protestants in the South recognize the power of the Catholic Church in regard to the negroes, and some among negro leaders openly advise the negroes to become Catholics.

Nor let it be looked upon as an idle vision—this work of regenerating the negro by the Catholic Church. True, the work of the Catholic Church among the negroes is meagre at present, but we

are not to take things on the surface. The normal condition of the Church is one of missionary effort. The command to teach all nations, to preach the Gospel to every creature is the very life of her mission on earth, and hence, as long as there is a soul on earth without the fold she cannot rest easy or unconscious of struggle. In the United States her energies have hitherto been absorbed in the endeavor to save her own—to house and provide against the loss of her many children who have poured themselves upon these hospitable shores. This work, however, has been now in a great measure accomplished, and it takes neither prophet nor the son of a prophet to predict that the Church in the United States is on the eve of a great missionary upheaval. How else can it be? Can the Church be untrue to her mission and fail to put forth her efforts to save the millions of non-Catholics surrounding her?

Nor are there signs wanting that this missionary spirit is quickening on every side of us. Alas! indeed that quickening as it is, it should at present be so weak! Though the religious orders seem to be fast increasing, though candidates for the diocesan priesthood are too numerous in some dioceses to be accommodated, we have hardly begun work upon our own white non-Catholics, and almost the entire colored race lies perishing at our feet. All honor to the Josephites who have nobly gone forth first to this, the most self-sacrificing mission work of our country—a work in which at present difficulty and hardship and lack of worldly honor are their portion. Theirs is a noble mission, more akin to that which the *Great Master* chose for Himself on earth—"the poor have the Gospel preached to them!"

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IMAGINATION AND FAITH.

THE abuse of the imagination is easy, and far-reaching in its consequences. In matters of faith it seems to find its widest, or at least its most serious, inlet playing havoc with the beliefs of many and blocking their way to the Church by throwing false lights and shades upon Catholic doctrine. A priest whose apostolic duties place upon him the guidance of enquirers to the faith has not infrequently to resign himself to long delays on minor points of doctrine or discipline. Again and again, when principles of belief and authority sufficient to cover the entire Catholic system seem to have been fully consented to, the work of catechising comes to a standstill on the catechumen's taking fright and shying at some item of belief already implicitly held in the acceptance of first principles. Moreover, many of those who do not seek admission or instruction in the Catholic faith from a denial of some of its fundamental tenets are open to the charge of being swayed by their imagination to the discredit of their reason.

To take some examples. It is incredible how much abhorrence is felt in certain quarters for the use of images. We have known a guileless and deeply religious soul who confessed to an irresistible feeling of sickness on seeing a priest lead the Rosary from a prie-dieu before Our Blessed Lady's statue. Mr. Kensit and his sympathizers seem to have a genuine distaste for any outward honor paid to the crucifix. Yet, as a recent writer in the *Church Times* has cleverly reminded them, on taking an oath in court it is the custom to kiss the Bible. With Catholic controversialists it is a commonplace when disputing on this point to urge the genuflexions and bowing and elaborate marks of honor paid to sovereigns. To see no harm in kneeling before Royalty or in kissing the Bible and yet to refuse to kiss the crucifix or kneel before a sacred image is an inconsistency due in great part to the imagination.

The Litany of Our Blessed Lady, with its varied list of titles, offers a serious obstacle to many non-Catholics. They cannot find in themselves to call the Virgin "Cause of Our Joy," "Ark of the Covenant," "Gate of Heaven," etc. Yet by their acceptance of the Council of Ephesus they have already given her the incomparably higher title of "Sancta Dei Genetrix," Mother of God, *Θεοτόκος*.

Those again who hold baptismal regeneration, yet deny the Sacrament of Penance, lay themselves open to the charge of giving way to their imagination. That one man should be freed from sin by

kneeling at the feet of another and hearing his acquittal seems the height of credulity to believe. Yet they have virtually conceded the possibility of such a power by allowing that the minister of baptism cleanses the soul by pouring water upon the brow. Indeed, the great objection to penance being its accompanying humiliation, they would seem to have conceded a still greater abasement by holding the justifying power of baptism. To many minds it may well be more humbling to submit publicly to a physical cleansing than to listen to a judicial acquittal in private.

The doctrine of Purgatory is untenable to those who are led by the imagination. The analogy of Nature, if realized to the full, would not merely prepare us for it, but would, perhaps, lead us to expect it. What evidence we find in the world goes a great way towards proving that our present state is one of trial and preparation and discipline. If such a state be reasonable before death, why not after death, especially since it is evident that the cleansing process can hardly be said to have reached completion in many cases at the hour of death?

One of the most common triumphs of the imagination is the disdain felt for miracles. That a simple Franciscan friar should be taken up in ecstasy many miles above the earth is passed over as a legend, or at best, a hyperbole—so strongly is the theory of gravitation imbedded in the imagination. Yet that bodies should fall is just as inconceivable on *a priori* grounds as that they should mount; nor is any one astonished on seeing his arms or limbs raised at the bidding of his soul. Are we not giving way to our imagination when we deny to spirit the power of raising the whole body? That it should be raised three inches or three miles is merely a question of less or more, which should be neglected in our reasoning, however much it may repel the imagination. Again, to believe that the dead have been brought back to life is considered by some as the highest pitch of human credulity. Yet, as a matter of fact, Nature daily brings thousands to life. Why should not some higher Power be able to bring them “back to life?”

The doctrine of transubstantiation is rejected by many who have little difficulty in admitting the transubstantiation of water into wine at Cana of Galilee. To others it seems inconceivable that accidents should exist without their proper substance; even whilst they admit that the human nature of Jesus Christ existed without its personality; if, indeed, they hold the Divinity of Jesus Christ with all its consequences. Our Blessed Lord’s lengthy discussion with the Jews, preserved for us by St. John in the sixth chapter of his Gospel, would almost seem to be summed up in this: “You will be

called on to accept the greater, *i. e.*, My Divinity; do not reject the less."

It may be asked how is this abuse of the imagination to be accounted for? Perhaps the most influential reason is the confusion in our use of the term. It is easy to mistake reason for imagination, and imagination for reason. The word is loosely used for the power of inventiveness. A drama or poem of skilful plot and striking combinations is called a work of vivid imagination; whereas it might be more accurate to speak of our great dramas and poems as works of reason, enriching its productions with the more graceful trophies of the imagination. This inaccuracy of thought has become so widespread that one of the most constant obstacles to the teaching of scholastic philosophy is the powerlessness of certain minds to distinguish practically between an intellectual idea, judgment or argument and a phantasm of the imagination.

Hence to those who are in great part, if not altogether, bereft of imaginativeness, it is common to mistake their reasonings for fancies, and hence to fail in giving arguments their due. In the case of moral arguments and evidences of Christianity and the like, where "probability is the very guide of life," the mistake of confounding imagination with reason produces harmful results. Such minds will feel uneasy with the doctrine of the Trinity—to take one example from many. Baffled in their endeavor to realize it, they turn from all the delicate arguments in its favor as from an attempt to submerge reason.

The confusion between thoughts and fancies leads other men to trust their imagination in place of reason. They believe whatever can be outlined or pictured or drawn up in groups of statistics. Of Dean Stanley, Huxley once said: "Stanley could believe in anything of which he had seen the supposed site, but he was skeptical where he had not seen. At a breakfast at Monckton Milnes' just at the time of the Colenso row, Milnes asked my views on the Pentateuch, and I gave them. Stanley differed from me. The account of the creation in Genesis he dismissed as unhistorical; but the call of Abraham and the historical narrative of the Pentateuch he accepted. This was because he had seen Palestine—but he wasn't present at the creation."¹

Birth, education, environment help on this tyranny of the imagination. A conviction once begotten by its activity, day by day, as the despotic image grows more familiar and clearer it asserts its power by stifling our reason and blunting the force of argument. Some men cannot handle or bear the sight of firearms without an

¹ The *Nineteenth Century*, August, 1896. "T. H. Huxley," by W. Ward.

irresistible dread. When every precaution has been employed and every means has been taken to show them that the weapon is unloaded and harmless, they will still reply: "I know it is unloaded. But it is safer to lay it aside. It might go off."

Only a sharp effort of the will can shake off this tyranny of the imagination in the things of faith, where intrinsic evidence is not strong enough to compel assent. At times the great act of submission to the authority of the Church puts an end, once and for all, to the fetters which an uncurbed fancy has forged round the soul. The majestic Bride of Christ fills the imagination with an object that suffers no lesser fancies to dispute its sway. Sometimes the process of drawing off from the servitude of the imagination is gradual. The tyranny has rooted itself too firmly and its effects are too widespread to be torn up by a sudden effort. The exercise of will power, which is the prime moving cause, and the meritorious principle of the act of faith has a daily duty of compelling the imagination to picture the reverse of much that it formerly held true. In the end, when the prejudices and fancies that swayed the mind are as good as supplanted by sober pictures of the truth, the peace of soul which results is a reward above measure for the closeness of the struggle. To have been forced for years to fight a daily battle against the presumptions of a lower faculty makes us wary in trusting to vivid imaginings. Constant exercise of our reason and our higher will has established our soul on a basis of truth, and we have only to be faithful in few things in order to merit the reward of being set over many and of seeing what we have so long felt to be true.

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INDUSTRIAL ARBITRATION.

THE losses entailed alike on the workingmen and on their employers by the industrial conflict which they call *a strike* have been so appalling that both capital and labor have come to the conclusion that, in the settlement of their contests, it is better to appeal to reason and good will than to resort to brute force. The wisdom of this course will be made evident by counting the expenses of one of the contests, the great Chicago strike of 1894. In this deplorable struggle the Pullman Company and the twenty-four roads centering in Chicago suffered a loss of earnings amounting to \$5,358,224; the actual loss to the workingmen in

wages alone amounted to \$1,750,000. But this is only a small part of the cost of this industrial war: The displacement of labor always involves serious losses. The expenses of United States deputy marshals—a small army of officials—of the United States troops, and of the militia; lastly, the lack of transportation, and the consequent stagnation of trade, must be added to the list of losses. Hence, we need not be astonished to find that the indirect damages, in the opinion of some, amounted to 80,000,000 of dollars; and, if this estimate be correct, then this deplorable war consumed wealth to the amount of 87,000,000 of dollars, without bringing any compensation whatever. Evidently, this sort of war is too expensive; victory is as destructive as defeat, and the victor cannot stand many triumphs of this kind.

The forces are organized on both sides; combined capital must meet combined labor; the State is in duty bound to protect both combinations so long as neither one nor the other commits any breach of the law. The time is passed when the employers could say that there was *nothing to arbitrate*, and that they were ready to meet their workingmen individually, but must decline to recognize their organizations. United States Commissioner of Labor Carroll D. Wright says: "The claim on the part of the great employers that they can deal only with individual employés is as absurd as it would be for the labor organizations to insist upon meeting the individual stockholders or the individual members of a firm. Neither party has a right to make such a claim. Representatives must deal with representatives; organization must recognize organization, and the committees of the two must meet in friendly spirit for the purpose of fairly and honestly discussing the questions under consideration. When this takes place it is incumbent upon the representatives of the employers to state frankly and fully the conditions under which they are attempting to produce goods; they know the conditions of the workingmen, and the workingmen can know the conditions of the production only through the representatives of organized capital. The very spirit of conciliation means frankness, a desire on the part of each to inform the other fully of the merits of their respective claims. Whenever such a course is pursued the results are usually satisfactory."¹

We have seen that strikes are disastrous both for the capitalists and for the workmen; that they inflict great losses upon the country at large; that individual action is unable to control the forces which conflict in times of strikes or lockouts. Can the State interfere and enforce peace at the point of the bayonet? This would be

¹ "Elements of Practical Sociology," C. D. Wright—Longmans, Green & Co.—p. 295.

slavery pure and simple ; besides, it would put an end to the freedom of contract which is warranted by the Constitution, and would substitute for it a most oppressive kind of State socialism. No resource is left but to bring the representatives of capital and those of labor to meet one another in friendly conference ; and if agreement be found impossible, to refer the whole question to an arbiter whom both parties can accept and in whose decision both parties are bound to acquiesce. Such is the only way, short of an appeal to brute force, by which conflicts may be prevented or terminated without violence, and without sacrifice of dignity on the part of either contending party.

Industrial Arbitration and Conciliation are the names indifferently given to this method of settling or preventing industrial conflicts ; yet, although Conciliation and Arbitration are often merged into one another, there are some differences between the two which ought to be brought out clearly. *Conciliation* is an effort on the part of one or several persons, acceptable to both parties, to reconcile their differences by making them understand each other and agree on a compromise, when a compromise is possible and equitable, thus preventing an outbreak ; or, if the outbreak has occurred already, by allaying the passions and presenting proposals on which both may agree. The mediators may, or may not, have been appointed beforehand. The essential is that the peacemakers be not considered as judges, but merely as mediators, and may act entirely in the latter capacity. When Conciliation is possible, it is the mildest and best way of preventing or ending conflicts, and it has the great advantage that it leaves no wounds to be healed except such as may have been already inflicted before the mediators had begun their work of reconciliation. *Arbitration* is a recourse to a judge or umpire whose decisions are binding in honor or in law. Such decisions must be based on the real merits of the case, not on the dispositions of the contending parties. The result of *Conciliation* is an agreement ; the result of *Arbitration* is a judgment. Conciliation requires prudence and sympathy for both disputants ; Arbitration requires equity and a judicial mind. Boards of Conciliation, established permanently or not, have been often successful ; but it has been often found that they led to no conclusion, unless Arbitration stood back of them in order to give their decision sufficient weight and authority.

Arbitration may be, first, *Legal*; that is, established and operated under statute law with its sanction and power of enforcing awards ; or, second, *Voluntary*; that is, established and operated by mutual agreement. In either case, while there may be a choice as to the

submission of the dispute, yet, when so submitted, the decision is binding upon both parties, and can, so far as its character permits, be legally enforced. These distinctions are here introduced to explain the meaning of the authors who have written on this subject.¹ In this paper we shall consider arbitration as either *Legal* or *Voluntary*.

Before expressing an opinion on the kind of tribunal which is likely to be most successful in preventing industrial disputes, or in settling them, without any appeal to force and without leaving the scars of deep-seated wounds, it is best briefly to state what sort of courts have been tried before, and what success has attended the efforts at *Conciliation* and *Arbitration*. During the mediæval period the Guilds, *i. e.*, the confraternities of craftsmen, could regulate both trade and labor with the concurrence both of the State and municipal authorities. Guilds had their chartered privileges and their special jurisdictions, varying according to time, place and the prevailing polity; they had a sort of autonomy, and they consisted of *Masters*, *Journeymen* and *Apprentices*, bound together by their constitution and by a community of interests; but, under their various forms, those associations embodied the corporate strength of the crafts which their officers represented. The workman was not isolated; he was a unit in an aggregate which possessed considerable strength and power. Under the pretense of freeing the workmen from a hateful bondage, but in reality with a view to concentrate the energies of the nation in the moral impersonal being called the *State*, these useful associations were suppressed. In France the suppression took place in 1789. In England the Guilds were stripped of their possessions by Henry VIII., and destroyed by the Municipal Reform Act of 1835; in Germany the North German Industrial Code of 1869 had a similar effect. These ill-advised attempts to free the workers from the laws imposed by the Guilds had the effect of opening a gap between masters and workmen, of bringing disorder where order was prevailing before, and of leaving the workers defenseless in the hands of capitalists.

Napoleon I. saw the necessity of establishing a tribunal of Conciliation and Arbitration which could supply the place of the guilds, and by a decree dated March 18, 1806, he instituted a *Conseil de Prud'hommes* (council of prudent men), and gave it an extensive jurisdiction in trade matters. It proved successful, and similar institutions were founded in the principal trade centres. "These *Conseils*," says Joseph D. Weeks, "are judicial tribunals established under the authority of the Minister of Commerce, upon the request

¹ Joseph D. Weeks in "Cyclopedia of Practical Science." Article: "Industrial Arbitration."

of the Chamber of Commerce, indorsed by the Municipal Council of the city where the proposed conseil is to be located. The request sets forth the need of a conseil, the trades that will be represented in it, divided into categories of cognate trades, and other facts that guide the Minister in deciding upon the application. The municipal council promises to provide for the expenses of the conseil. The officers of the conseil are a president and a vice president, named by the Chief of State, who hold office for three years; a secretary, appointed and removed by the Prefect, and a certain number of members, termed *prud'hommes*, the number in any conseil being not less than six, half of whom are employers and half employed, each class electing its own representatives. Certain qualifications as to ability, experience, age, residence and character are required to be possessed, both by the *prud'hommes* and, in a less degree, by those who elect them. The *prud'hommes* hold office for six years, and, together with the officers, are re-eligible. The members of the conseils serve without pay."

Probably the most important feature of this institution is the division of the *conseil* into two chambers, called the *private bureau* and the *general bureau*. The private bureau consists of two members only, and its function is to *conciliate*. If it fail to conciliate, then the case is referred to the general bureau. There another attempt at conciliation is made. If this second attempt fail also, the case is tried and judgment rendered. "The workings of these courts have been beneficial to French industry, especially in conciliation, by which more than 90 per cent. of all cases brought before tribunals are settled. In 1847 the sixty-nine councils then in existence had before them 19,271 cases, of which 17,951 were settled by conciliation in the private bureau, 519 more by open conciliation, and in only 529 cases was it necessary to have formal judgment. In 1850, of 28,000 cases 26,800 were settled by conciliation. There were, at the close of 1874, 112 councils in France. This is a most satisfactory showing; but it falls far short of expressing the great benefit these councils have been to French industry, especially in removing causes of differences or preventing them from growing into disputes."¹

In these institutions abundant provision is made for conciliation and for arbitration, although the latter is seldom necessary. But arbitration is compulsory upon the application of either party, and the decision of the courts can be enforced the same as those of any other court. This is, in a measure, *Compulsory or Legal Arbitration*, owing to this feature. The plan has not proven acceptable to Eng-

¹ Carroll D. Wright: "Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration," p. 8.

lish workmen, who hate anything like compulsion. Tribunals very like the conseils have been established in Belgium also; but, owing probably to the fact that in the latter country they have, in some cases, criminal jurisdiction, they are not as popular as in France.

"Previous to 1860, a year which marks an epoch in the history of industrial arbitration in England, it had frequently been applied to the settlement of industrial disputes. Legal sanctions, however, were never sought for the awards."¹ It is evident that the success of these institutions depends on the good-will of the working population, and that the same measure of freedom does not suit alike all social conditions.

"In England, though a law somewhat similar in its character to that of France has been on the statute books since the fifth year of the reign of George IV. (1824), so little use has been made of its provisions that its existence was practically forgotten." Before tribunals of Conciliation and Arbitration could be accepted their decisions had to be deprived of their legal and compulsory features, and to depend entirely on the sense of honor and on the *esprit de corps* of the societies which called for their intervention.

Both Mr. Mundella and Mr. Kettle, who were chiefly instrumental in causing the Boards of Arbitration and Conciliation to become features of English industry, agree that these boards should be voluntary, and not compulsory. Though there are acts of Parliament which provide compulsory legal powers, these acts remained dead letter; while the voluntary boards, created under the influence of these high-minded gentlemen, have been very successful and have prevented or settled many disputes which would have proven very disastrous to the English industry. The system adopted by Mr. Mundella is now known as the Nottingham System of Arbitration and Conciliation, because it was first put into practice in the hosiery and glove trade which was carried on in the immediate vicinity of Nottingham. "From 1710 to 1820 there is an awful list of murders, riots, arson and machine breaking recorded," says Colonel C. D. Wright, "all arising out of industrial differences." The awful penalties enacted by Parliament prevented the continuance of these acts of violence, but left the attitude of hostility between employers and employés just what it was before the Draconian legislation was put into force. Mr. Mundella met the workmen, showed them that the existing conditions were deplorable and succeeded, not without great difficulty, in making them constitute a Board of Conciliation and Arbitration. Mr. Mundella himself was the first chairman of the board, and speaking of this, he says: "I have a casting vote,

¹ Carroll D. Wright: "Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration," p. 9.

and twice the casting vote has got us into trouble, and for the last four years it has been resolved that we should not vote at all. Even when a workingman was convinced or a master was convinced, he did not like acting against his own order, and in some instances we had secessions in consequence of that; so we said, ‘Do not let us vote again; let us try if we can agree;’ and we did agree.” There is an inherent defect in this system, for there is no provision for a deadlock. Eventually they had to resort to an independent referee or umpire. This defect was avoided in the Wolverhampton system by the election of an umpire. This was done by each party using a list of six names. The first name on both lists was that of Mr. Rupert Kettle, Judge of Worcestershire county. He was accordingly elected and served for ten years. The Nottingham rules had in the beginning no provision for arbitration, but had to make up afterwards for the deficiency. The Wolverhampton system made no provision at first for conciliation, but it became evident that this feature was necessary to expedite business and diminish legislation, and it was accordingly added to the system.

“The scheme adopted by Mr. Kettle,” says Colonel Wright, “was a simple but admirable application of the principles of common law. A code of rules is framed; these rules, signed by the arbitrators and umpire, are posted in all the workshops represented in the board, and a copy given each workman on his hiring, he being informed that it is the contract under which he is to work. If any question arises it is to be referred to the board, or the conciliation committee under the amended rules, and it is by them decided. Any breach of the rules is a breach of contract, which can be punished the same as the breach of any other contract. It should be noted that this idea of a contract enters much more largely into the question of wages and the relation of employer and employed in England than with us.

“There are two radical differences between this plan and the Nottingham system,” adds Colonel Wright. “The latter provides no method of enforcing the award of the board, while under the Wolverhampton system provision is made for their enforcement the same as any other contract. . . . The second difference in the two systems is the provision for the election of a permanent arbitrator or umpire. . . . Mr. Crompton in his work¹ though strongly favoring conciliation, confesses that every board of conciliation must have an ultimate appeal.

“Another of the rules embodied in this system is deserving of more than passing notice. It is the third: ‘Neither masters nor

¹ “Industrial Conciliation,” p. 24.

men shall interfere with any man on account of his being a society man or a non-society man.' " Some rule of this kind should be introduced into all labor combinations, or great disorders are unavoidable wherever there is a difference of opinion between the two classes of men. Consequent upon such disorders the employment of force is necessary, and there is an end of conciliation. A similar agreement was entered upon in Philadelphia. It became necessary because the agents of workingmen's associations had no authority to make their agreements binding.

"Philadelphia, November 12, 1887.

"The twenty-four firms, members of the Boot and Shoe Manufacturers' Association, believe that to longer make an effort to deal with an organization without the power to enforce contracts is useless, unbusiness-like, unjust to ourselves and to those of our late employés who wish to work, and invites a risk of capital, reputation and business that we cannot entertain. Therefore, profiting from past experience and from observation of various manufacturing industries, we propose to open our factories on Monday, November 14, 1887. We will not discriminate for or against any person because he or she is not a member of any organization; (we) will meet a committee of our working people as a board of arbitration, and those who wish to work in our factories will be fully protected in their workings by the following rules and regulations: The bill of wages paid prior to the strike will be paid in each of the branches in the several factories until December 1, 1888, and should there be any change desired at that time the rules make provision for that change."¹ Here follow the rules, which are too long for reproduction, but which will amply repay careful reading.

The need of courts of arbitration and conciliation is so evident that very few will question their usefulness. Already in twenty States such courts have been established by law, and most likely all the other States will follow the example of these twenty States. But among the systems which have been mentioned, which one is best adapted to the wants of the time and to the character of the American people? This is the question with which we have now to deal. Five plans seem elastic enough to bear the modifications which time and circumstances may suggest, and yet be available to prevent or end industrial disputes.

First. The creation of a board of conciliation consisting of an equal number of representatives selected by the employers and of members elected by the workingmen. This board may have either a temporary or a permanent existence. It would be best to give it

¹ "Bulletin of the Department of Labor" for January, 1897, pp. 18, 19, 20, 21.

permanency. This is conciliation pure and simple, and agrees substantially with the Nottingham plan.

Second. A similar institution with the addition of an umpire not belonging to either party, whose decision is final in case of a tie. The carrying out of the judgment to be binding in honor, but not in law. This is voluntary arbitration, and had to be resorted to in the place of the casting vote of the chairman in the Nottingham plan.

Third. A tribunal appointed with the sanction of the State to try conciliation first, then to pass a judgment. The conclusion of this tribunal to be considered as a *prima facie* evidence of the right or wrong on the side of either of the contending parties; and, unless rebutted, to be held as decisive by the courts of equity. This is substantially the Wolverhampton scheme, less the initial contract.

Fourth. A State-appointed tribunal with the same functions as in No. 3, but with full power to compel the attendance of the parties, to send for persons and papers, examine the books and judge the case in first instance. This plan comes nearest to the institution of the *prud'hommes*.

Fifth. Compulsory arbitration pure and simple. It has failed completely in England, and it should never be resorted to except in cases of great disorders which would cause serious public disturbances and endanger the life and property of citizens. In our opinion the powers entrusted to the courts of equity are amply sufficient to meet such contingencies. Of course the mandates of these courts should be enforced by civil and military authorities, for they are entitled to all the support that the State can afford.

In our opinion the Wolverhampton plan is the best, and would be easily accepted by the American workmen. The Nottingham plan seems to be so weak for want of any legal sanction that, in a country where the population contains so many foreign and discordant elements, it might prove unfit to cope with the difficulties arising from the varying phases of the struggle. It is true that the population is becoming more and more homogeneous, and that there is a growing tendency on the part both of the manufacturers and of the workmen to meet each other in friendly conferences; but to expect that the era of conflict between capital and labor is closed is to take an over-sanguine view of the situation. Combinations of masters and societies of workmen whose delegates would meet at the same board to discuss the questions which interest both, supplemented by a State board of arbitrators whose decisions should be final, and should, if necessary, be supported by State and national courts, would probably be the best solution of the difficulty. A refusal to arbitrate should be considered as a presumption of fraud or unfair-

ness. An agreement to arbitrate should be a prerequisite to admission into these societies. We submit the text of an agreement of the kind which has been in force for some time in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

As I am a firm believer in the principle of arbitration, I propose to inaugurate that principle in my business.

Now, therefore, I, John Smith, a shoe manufacturer, in the city of Brockton, Mass., of the first part, and we, the undersigned, employés of said Smith, shoe manufacturer, of Brockton Mass., of the second part, hereby mutually agree that whenever, hereafter, any grievance, controversy or difference shall arise between said party of the first part and the undersigned employés of the second part, we shall mutually submit the subject matter of such controversy or difference to the State Board of Arbitration and Conciliation in the manner provided by our statutes, and that, pending the decision of said board, the work and labor in the factory of said Smith shall suffer no interruption, and that we will respectively abide by the decision of said arbitration.

JOHN SMITH, Manufacturer.

WILLIAM JONES,

CHARLES BROWN, Employés.

When both masters and workmen are bound by a contract, as in the Wolverhampton plan, there is always a sort of potential compulsion, for the courts which have equity jurisdiction may enjoin the fulfilment of the contracts. It is true that, as long as joint boards of employers and employés are free to act and are willing to abide by the judgment of an umpire selected by themselves, or to refer their case to a court of conciliation and arbitration appointed by the State, the actual employment of force is a remote contingency; yet the right to resort to it as a last resource abides with the regular courts and gives great weight to the decisions of the umpire or of the State board. This is probably as far as compulsion could go safely. "Those who advocate the compulsory method of arbitrating labor difficulties," says Colonel Wright, "do not hesitate to advocate frankly that the State shall intervene and try the questions raised and compel both parties to accept whatever result shall be rendered; they do not hesitate to admit that compulsory arbitration is a law suit; they declare that what our courts are to individuals a board of arbitration would be to corporations, and, furthermore, they contend that all supposed difficulties would vanish if a court of arbitration were established and its duties defined."¹ But this is clearly an illusion. Let us suppose the award is against the manufacturers, and they object that they cannot continue to work their plants without losing more money than their value can justify; will you confiscate their plants and have your own appointees run them? This would be a violation of property rights warranted by the Constitution; it would be nothing but undisguised socialism. What the manufacturers would have to do would be to lower the value of their products without lowering the prices, and then they might

¹ The remarkable article of Colonel Carroll D. Wright from which these lines are taken will be found in the *Forum*, May, 1893, p. 322.

have a chance of recuperating themselves at the expense of the public. Suppose, on the other hand, that the award is against the workmen; are you going to arrest them all and compel them at the point of the bayonet to work for the wages which appear to you sufficient? How long would the people tolerate such a sort of compulsion? Why, your prisons would soon be filled, and all your soldiers would soon be engaged in driving the workmen to the mines and the factories. In the meantime liberty would be at an end, and the sway of despotism would be supreme. Moreover, compulsory labor is very costly labor, and the people who in the last resort would have to pay the expenses of this sort of compulsion would soon put down the galling and costly despotism which would have been created for the purpose of enslaving labor, while diminishing production and increasing profitless consumption. Actual and forcible compulsion will not solve the problem. Let us have conciliation first; arbitration next. If neither the one nor the other prove sufficient, then let the regular courts be appealed to in individual cases in which laws are being openly defied or contracts have been ruthlessly broken. If the property or life of citizens be assailed, then, but then only, let the whole strength of the State be called upon to support the laws and maintain public security.

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TENNYSON'S RELIGION.

IN the modern literary world Tennyson may be regarded as most characteristically English. Of the cultured British voice of this century he has been an almost flawless organ, and all those who speak the tongue that he used must exult in the music of which he proved it capable. It is, perhaps, as a language-artist rather than a poet of mankind that he will be best remembered. A remark of *Blackwood's Magazine* of forty years ago is always true of his verse: "It is a rosary of golden beads, some of them gemmed and radiant, fit to be set in a King's crown; but you must tell them one by one and take leisure for your comment while they drop from your fingers." He polishes and enshrines oftener than he delves or quarries.

His subtle delicacy of thought, however, has touched most

human subjects and has lured minds into heights and depths that even his choicest words could but glimmeringly embody. To religion and matters cognate with it he recurs incessantly.

That poets either tend to or trench on things sacred is commonly noticeable and easily explicable. Real poetry is always in some degree an effort to suggest what is supersensible and even inexpressible. To move pleased sympathy to far-off true things, true though presently intangible, seems its highest ambition; hence the leadings of the greater poets will, consciously or unconsciously, be often toward the Infinite and Eternal.

Tennyson's poetico-religious gravitation is interesting in itself as one man's feeling about for acceptable truth. It is still more interesting as a figure of the bearing toward Christianity of educated England. For, what England thinks and says may influence so much of the world that her faith or unfaith is vastly important in the eyes of all believers.

To the mere literary student of Tennyson the poet's religion is also a primary question. Without it the personality and power of the author of "In Memoriam" and the "Idylls of the King" would sink and shrivel; only a skin would remain—fine-veined, indeed, but dry and empty. To come in contact with the sap of life he, like other seekers after greatness, had to grope back towards our origin, and to catch any glimpse at all of the highest fruit-bearing branches of the race it is necessary to turn in the direction of our destiny. Even Carlyle, the Balaam of bombast—who sometimes raked great truths into his heaps of rubbish—categorically declares, "It is well said, in every sense, that a man's religion is the chief fact with regard to him." If this be true of every man, it must be specially predictable of the writer—who aims at influencing his fellow-creatures, most specially so of the poet—who would waft us toward all that befits our loftiest aspirations.

Supposing, then, that Tennyson's religion is worthy of some thought, let us see whether we can fairly determine its nature and extent. The task is not easy. In spite of many lights afforded by different schools of admiring interpreters, the subject lies in shadow, with its outlines hardly discernible. Was the poet a believer or a rationalist? Was he theist or pantheist? Was he Protestant or Christian? All these questions are still askable, and could we ask them of the man himself he might refer us to his published works. "His creed," writes his son, "he always said he would not formulate, for people would not understand him if he did; but he considered that his poems expressed the principles at the foundation of his faith."

We may, therefore, assume that Tennyson's religion is to be traced in what he wrote. Happily the search through his poems is pleasant and advantageous. They are beautiful fields to wander in. The air, though seldom of mountain or sea strength, is full of healthful odors, and the sights and sounds are mostly of the purest. When the new Laureate sang admiringly of his predecessor, Wordsworth, as "of him that uttered nothing base," he revealed his own tendency and prefigured the judgment to be generally passed on himself.

'Tis charming to keep Tennyson's company—but what is his religion? Were there such a thing as an *English* religion, I should be inclined to call that *his* religion. The paramount excellence, actual or prospective, of the English is his most masculinely inspiring ideal. That his countrymen, in great crises, "were left to fight for truth alone;" that they constitute "the one voice in Europe;" that his country is "the eye, the soul of Europe;" that keeping "noble England whole" and saving its "one true seed of freedom" is helping "to save mankind"—are all premises of his world-philosophy.

Excess of enthusiasm for his own nation bred some scorn of others. It also fostered that strongly Saxon self-sufficiency which was one of the Laureate's least amiable qualities. Being very English, he sometimes narrowed himself to standards arrogantly insular. "No little German State are we," was a petty vaunt—though it occurs in a generous outburst of patriotism. Indeed, Tennyson was not himself the fullest exemplification of that broadly truthful dictum of his: "That man's the best cosmopolite who loves his native country best."

The poet's fine Englishry gleams through Newman's one brief communication with him. "Great differences of opinion and personal history lie between us," the eminent convert wrote in 1877, "but it would be strange if I alone of Englishmen did not feel the force of those endowments of mind which have made your name so popular."

His admiration of things nobly English led to views of higher and wider range. Whilst exalting his countrymen he tried to exalt humanity. He would hold it and prove it of measureless elevation. Of his typical Anglo-Saxon he might mainly be thinking; yet for all men he was vindicating the possibility of spotlessness and the likelihood of immortality. His maintaining that man ought to be, must be, immortal is his most nearly religious effort. He is reported to have said that "If faith means anything it is trusting to those instincts, or feelings, or whatever they may be called, which assure us of some life after this." There is here, of course, but a poor description of *faith*—but of that later.

He held those wisest who "looked beyond the grave," not "crowning barren Death as lord of all." Among other fine lines on the dead he has these strong ones:

"Gone forever—ever! No! For since our dying race began,
Ever, ever, and forever, was the leading light of man."

And though he pleads for purity and truth and justice in any and every case, yet he spiritually adds:

"The true, the pure, the just—
Take the charm *forever* from them, and they crumble into dust."

He argues convincingly that our dim present life cannot be the end of such creatures as we know ourselves to be, with all our affections and aspirations. He will not have us "dream of human love and truth, as dying nature's earth and lime." Least of all can he imagine that noble characters become dust and no more. He says he knows that "transplanted human worth will bloom to profit, otherwhere." His lamented Hallam is—after all forms of discursive speculation—at last firmly addressed as "dear heavenly friend that can't not die." Nelson he calls a "spirit among things divine;" and for Wellington, he doubts not "that for one so true there must be other nobler work to do, than when he fought at Waterloo."

With the same confidence, and more reason as well as grace, he makes the dying *May Queen* whisper to her mother:

"Forever and forever, all in a blessed home—
And there to wait a little while till you and Effie come—
To lie within the light of God, as I lie upon your breast—
And the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest."

These passages and other similar ones, which if less explicit are very frequent, might seem to authorize the statement that Tennyson held absolutely to the common doctrine of another world. It is hardly so, however. Having no fixity of belief, he is necessarily inconsistent. He at times seems to give up the opinion of individual continued existence. When rejecting the "faith as vague as all unsweet" that we shall merge "in the general soul," he certainly affirms that "eternal form shall still divide the eternal soul from all beside," and that he shall know his friend when they meet; yet with the same friend he afterwards mingles "all the world" and finds him "some diffusive power mix't with God and Nature."

Here and there he gives indications of a leaning to something like spiritual metempsychosis. He trusts "that those we call the dead are breathers of an ampler day, for ever nobler ends," and he teaches that the "eternal process moving on, from state to state the spirit walks."

In "The Two Voices"—where, as in stronger writings than any of Tennyson's, the objections occasionally outweigh the solutions—he yields points and confuses issues. He says:

"But if I grant thou might'st defend
The thesis that thy words intend—
That to begin implies to end ;
Yet how should I for certain hold,
Because my memory is so cold,
That I first was in human mould?"

If these lines mean anything definite, they give up either individual creation or individual immortality. That we are distinct from others and from our Creator is—as we may see in regard to Hallam—very strongly affirmed by Tennyson. Yet even on this prime head his contention is not uniformly maintained. That saying reported of him in his last sickness: "What a shadow this life is, and how men cling to what is after all but a small part of the great world's life," is at best equivocal.

The world, "the immeasurable world," appeared to become the principal object of his later poetic contemplations. He looked on it with awe; he almost crouched before it, as unknowable and dreadful. That he did not make it *God*, we are assured by those who knew him most intimately; some passages of his, however, would very nearly demand that interpretation. His speaking of God's "whole world-self" and of "the Free-will of the Universe" may be only Teutonic frippery; but a theist or even a deist significance is not easily found in the quasi-definition:

"That God, which ever lives and loves,
One God, one law, one element,
And one far-off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves."

The bewildered poet was not quite decided about attributing personality to God, so he speaks of Him as "that which" is everywhere and "that which made us." In his lines on "The Higher Pantheism" he appears to argue that the manifestation of God in creation is God Himself, for he says:

"The sun, the moon, the stars, the seas, the hills and the plains—
Are not these, O Soul, the Vision of Him who reigns ?
Is not the Vision He ? tho' He be not that which he seems ?"

And, in queer contradictoriness, clinging more to human personality than to Divine, he adds:

"Dark is the world to thee : thyself art the reason why ?
For is He not all but thou (sic) that hast power to feel 'I am I ?'"

The seemingly final profession—"He, They, One, All; within, without; the Power in darkness whom we guess"—is a sadly obscured summary of belief.

A strange problem is offered by this apparent pantheism of the poet, in connection with his many most gracefully Christian utterances. His work occasionally has on it something resembling "the light that shone when Hope was born"—as he beautifully sang of the first Christmas. He speaks of "that mystery where God-in-man is one with man-in-God," and by his rather untheological expression may possibly mean the truth. He refers to "the Word," he invokes the "Strong Son of God," he prays to Christ. But, alas! we are authoritatively told that by *Word*, *Immortal Love*, etc., he meant merely "the Revelation of the Eternal Thought of the Universe"—whatever that may be.

It would disappoint many to find that the author of such Christian sentiment and even Christian argument as the poems display did not himself believe in Christ. But the same inevitable unsatisfactoriness is in all pretences of Christianity without Catholicity.

How much there is of the right spirit in the treatment of the Camelot knights and ladies! And yet fable runs there in closer alliance with revealed truths than could be tolerated by a religious believer.

In the introduction of Scripture phraseology, which is frequent and dexterous, there is unpalatable evidence that the poet is rather using the word of God than being guided by it. This, however, seems a common characteristic of Bible-alone people. That he really believes what he skilfully chants is never quite fully averred. That he was ill-disposed to actual belief is often most painfully manifested. He was inclined to dogmatize poetically on *real faith*; though, that he ever had had any or even knew its meaning, is more than problematical. His oft-quoted "we have but faith" sounds fair enough till it is interpreted to mean—we are sure of nothing, not even of the facts of so-called science. To the question, "Is there any hope?" his answer came "in a tongue no man could understand." He indulges in the threadbare, and for him most unworthy, superficialities about *forms* and *creeds* and *systems*, seeming to think that the truths held by Christians are of arbitrary human selection. That faith means full assent, by the grace of God, to what we sufficiently know God has revealed, is a fact of which he does not appear to have the least inkling. His late as well as his early cry was that "it is man's privilege to doubt," implying, too, that if he does not *doubt* he must attach himself to an *idol*. He wants his readers to believe that "there lives more faith in honest doubt than in half the creeds." Though the *creeds* he knew may have been worthy of little consideration, yet his decrying them was but a catchy way of raising prejudice against religious authority. Similarly his wor-

shaper "whose faith has centre everywhere" gets away from all inconveniently definite teaching. This might do if faith meant mere "trusting to instincts or feelings," as we saw he expressed it. But since it is a divine thing of highest intellectuality and obligation, he was far from grasping not alone its practical but its poetical significance.

Tennyson was really a victim of Anglican effeteness. His is an impressive example. In him can be seen, as strikingly as in any man of the century, the necessary result for highly-gifted religious minds of entanglement in an illogically national system of churchism. He was too mistakenly English to cast England's religion quite behind; but he was injuriously perplexed by its hopeless inefficiency. He was driven to rickety imaginings of necessary worship because of the shallow inconsistency of the only cult with which he was at all acquainted. Then he had to fall back on the equally thin Protestantism of doubts and denials or of groundless sentimental vaporings.

Yet this was not what Tennyson wished or needed. He wanted undoubted truth to build on, and heavenly realities to nerve his best aspirings. When the flimsiness of unorthodox religiosity crumbled in his hands, he traced some of his daintiest figures in very wretched dust. "Most delicately hour by hour he canvassed human mysteries;" but they proved puzzles of ever growing perplexity. So he feared that in "seeking to undo one riddle" he should "knit a hundred others."

It was all in vain to murmur "how sweet to have a common faith;" in vain to scorn the age in which "doubt is the lord of this dunghill;" in vain to anathematize his own "damned vacillating state." He got no further, for he had no ground to go on. He remained in sickly doubt, floundering now and again into sloppy dilutions of false philosophy. He was probably sincere in saying that he hated "utter unfaith," and he was convinced that "unfaith in aught is want of faith in all." Nevertheless, he continued in peddling uncertainty and, with more reason than his own Arthur, might say at the end—"for all my mind is clouded with a doubt."

What a man he might have been had his feet been planted on the rock of unfailing Catholic doctrine! What a poet of humanity, too, if he had been bathed in the light and warmth of the living Church of God! He himself said well of the poet that he should be "bravely furnished all abroad to fling the winged shafts of truth," and of his mind that "clear and bright it should be ever." This would require most intelligent Catholicism; and had Tennyson not been robbed of his ancestral faith it might now be true to say of him, as he said of his ideal poet:

"He saw thro' life and death, thro' good and ill,
 He saw through his own soul.
 The marvel of the everlasting will,
 An open scroll,
 Before him lay."

Antipathy to the Catholic religion is remarkable in the late Laureate's work more perhaps by its absence than by its presence. Complete exemption from the taint is too much to expect from any author who belongs to even the most shadowy species of Protestantism. The most delicately sympathetic writers can be gross and insulting on that point. Even Hawthorne and the Brownings and Russell Lowell have, one time or other, befouled themselves by throwing mud at the sanctities which they did not understand. One of the great weights of iniquity on the English-speaking races must undoubtedly be the enormous amount of traditionally stupid libel which their writers have everywhere amassed against the Church and her children. In its thick unrepenting unteachable-ness it is also a blot on the annals of civilization. For rancorous ill-will to anything so nobly—not to say divinely—upright and intellectual as Catholicism is necessarily a base failing, whether the baseness lie in ignorance or in immorality.

Tennyson cannot, on the whole, be classed as anti-Catholic, but here and there he is weakly bigoted. He retails the English view of *fat monks, leering priests, bluff Harrys and iron-worded Luthers*. He is venomous in his representations of Philip and Mary and the leading Catholics of their time. National hate or politic pandering to it was incentive enough to caricature such personages. But how the poet could condescend to make Cranmer figure as a conscientious Christian, and even try to patch him up as a martyr, is beyond explanation. The arch-hypocrite is placed by Macaulay among the catiff crowd of fallen angels who neither rebelled nor were faithful, and of whom he writes:

"Slaves of his class are never vindictive and never grateful. . . . When an attempt is made to set him up as a saint it is scarcely possible for any man of sense who knows the history of the times to preserve his gravity. . . . It is extraordinary that so much ignorance should exist on this subject. . . . If Mary had suffered him to live, we suspect that he would have heard Mass and received absolution, like a good Catholic, till the accession of Elizabeth, and that he would then have purchased, by another apostasy, the power of burning men better and braver than himself."

The real Cranmer must have been thoroughly known to Tennyson, and the false representation was unworthy. Fidelity to historical truth, in so leading a part, would have been commendable and was even demanded by fairness. In minor points he sometimes

exaggerated its importance. It was, perhaps, the weak dramatist's straining after exactitude that caused him to put roughly irreligious language in the mouths of a few of his characters. But there was no excuse for his allowing Elizabethan ruffians to pronounce what, to Catholic ears, is ugly blasphemy. There the bigot ousted the poet.

Where nationalism at all entered he was unfair. To the mid-century priesthood of France he is sullenly referring when he says:

"The Jesuit laughs, and reckoning on his chance,
Would unrelenting
Kill all dissenting—"

The uglier British tone may again be recognized in the silly query: "Rome of Cæsar, Rome of Peter—which was crueler, which was worse?"

To Catholic forms of expression the poet is addicted simply because he is a poet. The depth and tenderness of the true religion attracts genius—artistically if not otherwise. Hence imaginative writers seldom treat seriously of anything Christian without taking on a semblance of Catholicity. Hence also are some authors so much more apparently Catholic in their spontaneous verse than in their prejudiced prose. Protestant and English as he is, Tennyson says pretty things about the *Heavenly Bridegroom*, the *Crucifix*, the *Blood of God*, the *Blessed Sacrament*, the *Maid-mother*, the *Angels*, the *Saints*, the *confession and forgiveness of sin*. Martyrdom, too, and chastity and mortification, and other grandeurs characteristically Catholic, are treated with decent reverence.

The poet's occasional leaning to Church ways may be attributed in some degree to his aristocratic radicalness. He advocated nobility with equality. The leveling-up process was one of his human perfectibility dreams. Proud he certainly was—personally most proud. To the "daughter of a hundred Earls" he could truly affirm: "Your pride is yet no mate for mine, too proud to care from whence I came." But his pride was in real or imagined worth and plumed itself mostly on its broadly human sympathies. It was not pettily selfish. The haughty reserve and lofty disdainfulness of the man may receive the gentlest interpretation when we recall how genuinely he hymned the true nobility of goodness, of kindness, of simple faith. He finally accepted a title and its honors; yet there is the ring of sincerity in his scorn of vaunting any lineage above our common descent from "the grand old gardener and his wife."

For the luxurious refinements of high caste society he had the English gentleman's appreciation. He aspired to place and name and wealth, and to the daintiness of life which they render possible. But the touch of nature he never loses; and one of the clearest

glimpses of his character is caught in his advice—no matter what else is possessed—to “pray heaven for a human heart.”

The Church’s insistence on the dignity of redeemed humanity must have pleased a mind like Tennyson’s. He could hardly help coinciding with her true statement of the sense in which all men are equal, and of the grounds of individual preëminence. Natural equality as a basis for merited supernatural excellence offers a fine field for the exercise of constructive imagination. There human affairs may be treated most radically and yet not lowered. True worth, true as God sees it, is alone considered; but that is no less raised than from earth to heaven. Hence, being an aristocrat by taste and a democrat on principle, the noble bard sympathized with the elevated justness of the Catholic system.

Nevertheless, his training and his environment rendered ludicrously false his intentionally Catholic appreciations. The fallen Guinevere has but just had her shame discovered when she is made to say to the holy Sisters: “So let me be a nun like you”—and she is soon nun and abbess! That exemplified, indeed, an English view of cloister happenings. The Catholic idea of asceticism is also missed. Tennyson’s “Simeon Stylites” is an avowed candidate for canonization; he boasts blatantly; he proposes himself for worship, and is, withal, a whining unreality.

From the most shocking of carnal errors concerning Christianity (that which would identify natural or sexual love with divine charity) the poet is not quite exempt. His later social perfection chimeras may have lured him toward that quagmire. Having no hold on “the substance of things to be hoped for” in another life, and being “immers’d in rich foreshadowings” of an earthly future, he sang of “the crowning race of humankind” and of “what the world will be when the years have died away.” Even his lauded pean of victory—“ring in the Christ that is to be”—is nothing more than a proclamation that “social truth shall spread.”

But unstable and changing as men without faith must always be, he finally doubted about this worldly progress and the promised eras of bliss. There is heard a double despondency in the lines:

“Twere all as one to fix our hopes on Heaven
As on this vision of the golden year,”

and the weakest hopelessness in the couplet:

“Earth may reach her earthly worst, or if she gain her earthly best,
Would she find her human offspring—this ideal man at rest?”

How unsatisfactory is this ending to a great soul’s research and a great teacher’s doctrine! He never reached the rock foundation, and so he raised no lasting edifice. Of what he erected—philosophic or religious—his own words must prove true: “The house

was builded of the earth, and shall fall again to the ground." His unhappy spiritual condition seems often unconsciously pictured by himself. To whose case more forcibly than to his own could be applied the words, "Cursed be the social lies that warp us from the living truth!"? It was the inveterate bias of the Reformation that kept him astray. England was the real Princess of whom he said: "And so she wears her error like a crown, to blind the truth and me." Bereft of the divine certainty which Catholic teaching assures, he could but piteously lament:

"I stretch lame hands of faith, and grope,
And gather dust and chaff, and call
To what I feel is Lord of all.
And faintly trust the larger hope."

Lame and faint, indeed, must have been such a soul's reliance on the rubbishy impertinences of Universalism. And yet he is said to have twisted to his "larger hope" ineptitude even Dante's grand sentence: "*Fecemi la divina potestate, la somma sapienza, e l' primo amore*"—because, forsooth, *amore* is last mentioned. The poet theologian was, of course, but marking the Procession of Persons in the Blessed Trinity, and the truth that acts *ad extra* are common to the three.

There is pleasure in noting an approach to the Christian's trust in those last published lines of the poet:

"For tho' from out our bourne of Time and Place,
The flood may bear me far,
I hope to see my Pilot face to face
When I have crost the bar."

But the *Shakespeare* incident has a tawdry unfitness about it. A dying poet's asking for his copy of the great dramatist may be an effect of habit, and may approve itself to literary mawkishness; but such a request, responsibly made, could scarcely do less than jar with the Christian solemnity of the decisive moment. What is there to admire in a man's dying with any man's book in his hand? The awfulness of the passage would have been very differently illumined were the poet's belief the living reality that his best friends might desire. Then, too, a trace of *Gerontius'* fear and contrition and confident supplication would leave nobler impressions on the minds of sorrowing witnesses.

A Catholic's review of the Laureate's life-work is, not unreasonably, tinged with sadness. There is a feeling that much has been wasted. The poet's natural endowments were rich, his opportunities were splendid, his intentions generally pure; yet he accomplished relatively little. The art results may, indeed, be great; but the moral effect is trifling or questionable. With his powers of mind, his university training, his inherited respect for Christianity

and his markedly religious tastes, he seemed qualified to be a teacher. Moreover, he set out with high resolves. He appeared to mean it when he sang:

"And yet, though all the world forsake,
Tho' fortune clip my wings,
I will not cramp my heart, nor take
Half-views of men and things."

The groundwork, however, failed. His lessons were seldom either impressive or conclusive; for on crucial points he could rarely venture to say—yes or no. He hobbled between dilemmas and wavered on lines of cleavage. If he dogmatized, it was as fancy led, and contradiction came with a change of humor. Having no infallible reserve of truth which he could unquestioningly call his own, he was often helplessly at sea in his favorite quasi-religious speculations. At times he felt himself sinking, and confusedly drew back. But honestly to avow ignorance and seek for light was foreign to his disposition. In intellectual pride he spun many cob-webs over the deficiencies of his knowledge. When the want of reserve which marks non-Catholic tampering with mysteries of religion pushed him into statements that he would not deliberately maintain, he awkwardly sidled out of the difficulty.

His deeper sympathies seemed undeniably with revealed truths, but *revelation* and *truth* are hazily changeable to the vagaries of private judgment. It is a fact, also, that he repudiated the wish to "part and divide," or to close the "grave doubts and answers" which he proposed. He would poetically introduce the "slender shade of doubt," but would not draw the "deepest measure from the chords." All this, however, is but trifling, and trifling in matters of religion arises from one source—from defect of faith.

There is a certain parity between England's religious state and Tennyson's. She has so much that is good one wonders she has not more. Long and singularly blessed in temporal estate, she has unfortunately missed her spiritual mission. It is not that she has no desire to evangelize. Like the belated Jews, she has a zeal for the law—as she chooses to interpret it. But her labor is vain, for she cannot give what she has not. She lacks the one note which makes a message acceptable—the satisfying note of authority. Not being sure of the truth of God, how can she pretend to impart it? In her best creed and psalm there is an unavoidable discord. At home or abroad her teaching is never long heard before it is found to contradict itself. The discrepancy may appear at first to be, as in Tennyson's song, but a "little rift within the lute;" yet by and by it "will make the music mute, and ever widening slowly silence all."

The rift in England's lute is the breach with the Church. For a brief space of time it may have looked little. When only the Su-

premacy was explicitly rejected, the squeaking sounds produced might pass with the unskilled ear as the voice of Catholicity. But with the Supremacy necessarily followed the Infallibility, and with the Infallibility Tradition, and with Tradition all certain Revelation. The widening of the rift went so far that the silence of all the music of the Gospel seemed imminent. Then half-remedies were hastily adopted; but only the few have yet had the courage to take the heroic part of closing the breach. Some would be Christian, but not Catholic; others would—as the Laureate makes the *Queen Mary* gentlemen express it—be Catholic, but not Papist.

England's loss of faith is a loss to the world, yet still the loss is principally her own. Apart from eternal questions and prospects, all her intellectual life is falsified. It is evident that our essential relations with heaven cannot be mistaken or misstated without a derangement of all our rational bearings. A civilized nation in error concerning Christianity may, in a very special sense, be said to toil in the night; and walking in the darkness it hurts itself against every stone of offense. When its energies are not paralyzed its efforts are thrown away. 'Tis pitiful to see England's Gladstones and Tennysons and Ruskins and Arnolds spending their gorgeous powers in the endless search for subterfuges from infidelity on the one hand and from Catholicity on the other. Could they enter on their careers in the secure possession of the Church's great world of unfailing truth, they would be giants in the good fight for true human liberty and progress.

The old fallacy that Catholics must be intellectually stunted, that their faith enslaves their understandings, is now but rarely advanced. It never could have any respectable support. Tennyson, indeed, refers to "cramping creeds," but he was not speaking—for he was unaware of its existence—of the fulness of Revelation infallibly enjoyed. 'Tis almost a truism to say that truth, most particularly the highest truth, constitutes the intellect's proper object, and opens for it a boundless sphere of action. To range there is to be untrammeled. The bird is not less free because its flight is confined to the limits of the atmosphere: that's its element. Any truth of the Catholic religion is wider and higher than the reach of wing of even the eagles of human intelligence. Tennyson's airy fancy might have gilded nobler pinnacles than he ever reached, had he believed as the Church does; and he would have trod with surer foot, avoiding many stumbles. His aberrations were only loss and could have in them no poetic beauty.

The wandering from even natural truth of so many of England's most intellectual non-Catholics should be a matter for serious religious reflection. The abandonment to a reprobate sense is a

Scripture threat to be always dreaded. Men of deep science are teachable: they believe on sufficient authority. And as refusing to acknowledge God's unmistakable voice in our own time and place is in other ways a tendency toward bestiality, so is it also in the consequent darkening of the intelligence. Believing that we may know is human. Far more retrograde are the polished doubters of modern England, in the winter of their torpid agnosticism, than are the simplest faithful who live always in the season "when faith," as St. Augustine so profoundly observed, "predisposes them for the exercise of reason."

With faith Tennyson might have been a Dante for the ages to come, while with delusive Anglicanism he may be regarded, after all, as only the most delicate of rationalistic versifiers. Similarly his country, with its traditionally Christian name, has retained but little of its Christian character. Its influence does not spread belief. Where England alone of the civilized nations is known, Christianity is regarded as mere respectability or mere hypocrisy. There is hardly a true missionary that does not prefer to meet the untutored savage rather than the spoiled heathen who bears a varnish of Anglo-Saxon religion or education. The divisions and vacillations of so-called Christians supply an excuse for making light of conversion; their open or most thinly-veined worldliness is a standing cause of scandal and derision.

When Tennyson sang that he counted "the gray barbarian lower than the Christian child," he was glorifying civilized progress and its wealth in books, in railways, in steamships. He was expressing no preference for Christian belief; but, as often occurs to poets, his words carried farther than he aimed. The Christian child with its Christian catechism is, intellectually, on a higher plane than any barbarian; and barbarian, in a growingly literal sense, must be considered every man who has not an intelligent hold on the elements of the Church's teaching. Her disciple alone is "the heir of all the ages." The sweeping statement, "Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay" will still be accepted as substantially correct. The Europe, however, of such incomparable value is not the Europe of godless schools and fashionable infidelity; not even the Europe of minute refinement and colossal marketing. These things China may have had for decades of centuries. 'Tis rather the Europe of the believing nations, the Europe of art and industry built up on Christian standards; the Europe of heroism and sacrifice that, whilst ennobling every object of sense, was ready to give up all for the unseen realities of faith.

GEORGE LEE, C. S. SP.

CARDINAL GIULIANO DELLA ROVERE.

"The History of the Popes From the Close of the Middle Ages." Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican. From the German of Dr. Ludwig Pastor, Professor of History in the University of Innsbruck. Edited by Frederick Ignatius Autobus, of the Oratory. Volumes V. and VI. B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo.

THE welcome intelligence of the death of his inveterate enemy, Alexander VI., reached the Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula in his French retreat, and was a signal that the days of his exile were ended. In a few days he was back in Rome, and in a few months he was Pope Julius II. As Borgia had adopted Alexander the Great for his patron saint, della Rovere invoked the rival memory of Julius Cæsar. The words of Dante spring to our lips:

"Un Marcel diventa
Ogni villan che parteggiando viene."

Without wasting time in moralizing, we cannot but regret that Julius did not imitate his great prototype in one particular: he ought to have found time, amidst his manifold activities, to write or dictate his commentaries. Unfortunately for his reputation, he left the task of immortalizing his name to painters, sculptors and architects, and never did Pope or King employ artists of such transcendent merit; but he neglected to secure the humble but more effective services of the scribe. In consequence his historical character has fared worse than the magnificent monument which Michel Angelo designed for him, but never completed. Enough and to spare was written about his pontificate; but as he had a peculiar gift of making enemies for himself, and as the virulence of a Renaissance enemy was truly demoniacal, there is no crime of which a human being is capable that has not been charged against him. On the other hand, none of his contemporaries deemed it his business to undertake the defense of this "terrible" apparition.

As for the thirty-two years of his Cardinalate, it is well-nigh impossible to reduce his erratic career to anything like consistent conduct. And yet there must be a key to the actions of so resolute a man if we could but discover it. The task of discovering this key we shall leave to some one more highly gifted with psychological insight; we are content to follow the mighty Cardinal as he appears and disappears on the ever-shifting stage of Italian politics.

The only writer of importance who has made a special study of the personal history of della Rovere is Moritz Brosch, whose well-known monograph, "Papst Julius II.," appeared in Gotha in 1878.

It is confessedly a one-sided presentation of the subject, founded mainly upon documents preserved in the Venetian Archives. The author by long study has become so thoroughly imbued with the Venetian spirit that one might imagine he was writing a political pamphlet in the interest of the Signory. This is surely an unsatisfactory method of writing "scientific" history. His concluding words, moreover, prove that he did not himself consider that he had done full justice to his "hero," for he tells us:

"The true grandeur of this Pope lies in a domain outside the framework of this treatise, and we must here hand him over to the specialist historian of art: we refer to his relations to the building arts. It was given to him, by virtue of a will-power which demanded to be immortalized, not only to admire the sublimest products of monumental creations which the human spirit has brought forth since the palmy days of Greece, but to be a co-worker in their production. Chance, or what may appear to us to be such, gave him for contemporaries the most perfect of artists; but it is his work, his merit, his enduring renown that, seizing his opportunity, he recognized these artists, entrusted to them the mightiest of tasks and spurred them on with passion and intelligence. The name of Julius II. has been engraved in marble in indelible characters by Michel Angelo, the greatest of modern artists and the noblest personage of the Italian Renaissance, and time will not efface it."¹

It is obvious that a biography which so sharply and curtly distinguishes between "Julius the follower of Pericles the Olympian and Julius the statesman and Pope-King" can present no full and adequate picture of a busy and many-sided life. It would be more accurate to designate Brosch's treatise as "The Story of Julius II. as Viewed by Contemporary Venetians."

There is ample room, therefore, for a life of this extraordinary Pontiff to be written with a far greater breadth of vision than Brosch allowed himself to take, and from a more impartial standpoint.

Giuliano was born December 5, 1443, at Albizzola, a hamlet in the neighborhood of Savona. Pastor still maintains against the opinion of Reumont, Brosch and others that the della Rovere family, though impoverished, was of noble extraction. Whatever doubt there may be of its nobility, there is none of its extreme poverty. The future arbiter of Europe began life either as an artisan or, according to another account, as a clerk in the service of Venetian merchants. Bembo's venomous libel that "shortly before his elevation to the Cardinalate" he had been detected in the theft of two ducats from his employers is of value, as Brosch wisely remarks,

only as manifesting the hatred and contempt with which his name was mentioned in the circle of the Venetian nobility.

At an early age he followed his uncle, Francesco della Rovere, into the Order of St. Francis, and when Francesco forged his way upward through the gradations of general of the order and Cardinal to the Papacy, the nephew followed rapidly in the path of glory. Sixtus IV. is the Pope who reduced nepotism to a political science and made it the engine of Papal government. Finding the States of the Church torn and distracted by rebellious and semi-independent barons, and suspecting on the part of the Sacred College a disposition to look down on the scion of a lowly house, he determined to surround himself with agents entirely devoted to his own person and ready to execute his commands with implicit obedience. Thanks to the fecundity of his Ligurian stock, he was abundantly supplied with relatives, who were invited to Rome and elevated to the highest dignities of Church and State.

Sixtus was elected Pope on the 9th of August, 1471, and four months later, notwithstanding the indignant protests of his Cardinals—protests which were rather deep than loud—he introduced, as the equals of the sons of the old Italian nobles, two of his nephews whose parents had won a scanty livelihood by fishing in the Gulf of Genoa. Then, for the first time, men learned two names which they were destined often afterwards to pronounce with affection or hatred, *Riario* and *della Rovere*. To his sister's son, Pietro Riario, aged 24, Sixtus gave the title of Cardinal of S. Sisto; to Giuliano, who was four years older than his cousin, was given the title vacated by his uncle, of S. Peter ad Vincula, by which he was known to the civilized world for above thirty-one years.

In order to enable these two poor Franciscan friars, now become the spoiled children of fortune, to sustain their dignity with proper state, the indulgent uncle showered upon their heads a bewildering accumulation of Patriarchates, Archbishoprics, Bishoprics, Abbacies and other opulent benefices in every part of Christendom. The results of this sudden metamorphosis upon the two young men were as different as their characters. The open-hearted and light-headed Riario ran a course of extravagance which brought him to his grave in two years, leaving the record, unprecedented in those days, of having spent 200,000, or as some will have it, 300,000 ducats, and bequeathing to his fond uncle 60,000 ducats of debts. An attempt was made some thirty years ago by the *Civiltà Cattolica* to reinstate his memory before the court of history, but, we regret to say, the attempt was a failure.

The tougher fabric of Giuliano's character enabled him to resist

the temptations to dissipation before which his cousin fell so easy a victim; and although Madama Felice remained to furnish irrefragable testimony that her father had not in his youth been invariably true to his monastic vows, nevertheless the general tenor of his conduct was earnest and dignified. Frivolous pleasure possessed at no time of his life much attraction for the restless soul of Julius. In this respect he bore a strong resemblance to his energetic uncle; and possibly for the very reason that both drew so copious an amount of sap from the family "oak," the relation between them was rather that of respectful admiration than of warm affection. Giuliano was never his uncle's "favorite;" nor can we imagine the reserved, gruff, headstrong man as a favorite with any one. Whatever affection Sixtus possessed went out to his sister's children; and his preference for the Riarii was so pronounced that whispers began to spread abroad that Pietro and his brother Girolamo must be nearer to the Pontiff in blood than was officially proclaimed. The suspicion was without foundation; but in the days of Machiavelli suspicion built whole castles without foundations, and many of these airy castles have endured to the present time.

Whilst Cardinal Riario was dazzling and shocking the Italians with epicurean banquets and with royal progresses through the States of the peninsula, Giuliano was devoting his time and his large revenues to his favorite occupation of building palaces and fortresses. Indeed it soon became patent that the two cousins were at cross purposes and that there was but little love between them. Each had a brother for whose advancement he was eager. Giuliano's brother Giovanni was a student at the University of Pavia, and Cardinal Riario having ascertained that Duke Galeazzo of Milan "had cast his eyes upon him and expressed a wish that this nephew of the Pope's should be connected with his family by marriage,"¹ had him secretly conveyed from Pavia to Rome, and substituted in his stead his notorious brother and successor in the Pope's affections, Girolamo, upon whom Sforza bestowed the hand of Caterina, his natural daughter. It can scarcely be wondered at that so vindictive a man as Giuliano should have preserved a life-long resentment against Girolamo, which manifested itself in many a sudden outbreak of anger whilst the latter was omnipotent in the counsels of Sixtus, and yet more in the aid which Giuliano gave to Cesare Borgia in the uprooting of his dynasty in the Romagna. Giuliano secured a more substantial, if less brilliant, alliance for his brother by marrying him into the family of Federigo di Montefeltro, Count, later Duke, of Urbino, which eventually resulted in the establishment of the della Rovere dynasty in that Duchy.

After the premature death of Cardinal Riario in 1474, Giuliano came forward more prominently; and it is characteristic of him that his first appearance should be at the head of an army. The object of this military expedition was to reëstablish something like order in the valley of the Tiber, some of the cities of which were a prey to downright anarchy, others, especially Città di Castello, were usurped by petty tyrants. The warlike Cardinal succeeded in reducing Todi and Spoleto; but when he addressed himself to the subjugation of Niccolo Vitelli, the tyrant of Città di Castello, he found his efforts opposed by the machinations of Florence, Milan and the neighboring barons. The greedy merchants of Florence were intent upon enlarging their territory at the expense of the Church, and were much annoyed because Sixtus had forbidden the sale to them of his city of Imola, which had come temporarily into the hands of Sforza. As regards the larger and smaller dynasts of Italy, from the Duke of Milan and the King of Naples to the most insignificant of them, since they all held their domains with no other title than the sword, it had become the unwritten law that they should all unite to prevent the deposition of any *de facto* ruler.

An instructive illustration of the working of this law of "honor among thieves" had recently been furnished by no less faithful a vassal of the Holy See than the Count of Urbino himself. For twenty-four years Federigo had waged war against Sigismond Malatesta, Lord of Rimini, who was straining every nerve to form for himself an independent kingdom in Central Italy. Finally, in 1463, the Pontifical troops succeeded in crushing the tyrant, and Malatesta was permitted by Pius II. to retain the city of Rimini as a personal fief until his death, upon which it should devolve to the immediate jurisdiction of the Church. Sigismond died in 1469, leaving no legitimate issue from his numerous wives. But, strange to say, Federigo supported the pretensions of Robert Malatesta, a natural son of Sigismond, against the Supreme Pontiff and "arranged a new confederation of Milan, Florence and Naples for the independence of Rimini.¹ So jealous were the Pope's vassals and neighbors of any increase of his power. Actuated by this same feeling, Sforza, the Medici and the King of Naples lent every aid to the little tyrant of Città di Castello. Federigo, no doubt, sympathized with him, but was bought off by the alluring vision of the ducal crown and the flattering offer of alliance with the Papal family. Resuming his old command as general of the Papal forces, Duke Federigo appeared before Città di Castello and had sufficient influence and diplomacy to free Cardinal Giuliano from a most embarrassing situation.

¹ Dennistown: "Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino." Vol. I., p. 186.

Vitelli made a nominal surrender and accompanied the Duke and the Cardinal to Rome. "Surrounded by treachery, with such an ally as Ferrante of Naples at his side, and with neighbors like Lorenzo de Medici, can the Pope be blamed for establishing his nephews firmly in the States of the Church, where a Cesare Borgia and a Pope like Julius II. were needed to purge it from its oppressors great and small?"¹ The extreme recklessness with which the Italian politicians pursued their plans for the weakening of their neighbors is expressed with cynical frankness in Lorenzo's utterance: "For any one in my position, the division of power is advantageous; and, if it were possible without scandal, three or four Popes would be better than a single one."²

How Pontiffs of a different stamp from Sixtus IV. would have dealt with the problems which confronted him we can only surmise. The Rovere Pope saw no way out of his difficulties except to adopt the tactics of his adversaries. He had a fit instrument for such work at hand in the person of his nephew Girolamo Riario. This worthy had begun life either as a clerk in a drug store or as public scrivener, or probably in both capacities. Had he been left at these humble occupations it would have been a great blessing for the Catholic Church. But unfortunately he was destined for higher and baser things. We have seen how, through the intrigues of his brother, he had been intruded into the family of the Duke of Milan. His wife, Caterina Sforza, was, to be sure, only a bastard daughter of the Duke, but, as Commines somewhere quaintly remarks, female illegitimacy was of no consequence among the Italian princes of that age. Caterina possessed all the energy and unscrupulous ambition characteristic of her family, and she brought her husband as dowry the city of Imola in the Romagna. It was Pandora's gift for Italy and the Universal Church. For, in the first place, it was well understood that this petty countship was intended to be only the stepping-stone by which Girolamo should rise to greatness; and, secondly, the establishment of a Papal nephew in that region ran counter to the views of the Florentine magnate, Lorenzo de Medici. The consequence was the shameful tragedy enacted in the Cathedral of Florence in 1478, and the war with the Republic which convulsed the Peninsula and led to still worse evils.

All these deplorable transactions are narrated by Pastor frankly and dispassionately, and we refer the reader to his pages. We allude to them here simply in order to state that the Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula was in no wise responsible for this dark side of the Pontificate of his uncle. There was, however, a bright side to this

¹ Pastor, IV., p. 268.

² Pastor, IV.. p. 300.

Pontificate, and in it Giuliano figures quite creditably. Sixtus, as everybody knows, was by eminence the patron of the arts and the renovator of Rome. In this field of work he was ably assisted, if not instigated, by the energetic and art-loving Cardinal, and beyond doubt many of the great artistic glories of Sixtus owe their existence to the wise suggestions of Giuliano. In addition, the Cardinal, out of his own revenues, rebuilt the Church and Convent of S. Pietro in Vincoli, continued the work begun by Cardinal Riario on the SS. Apostoli and fortified Grottaferrata and Ostia. He was also entrusted with several important embassies to the European powers. In 1476 we meet him in France;¹ in 1480 he is Legate in the Netherlands;² again in 1482 he is Legate at the Court of Louis XI. and returns to Rome with the released Cardinal La Balue. In fact, Giuliano, according to modern notions, ought to have taken up his permanent residence in France, to look after his Archiepiscopal See of Avignon and his bishoprics of Viviers and Mende. But these sees were of interest to him at that time for revenue only.

During the last two years of the Pontificate of Sixtus (1482-1484), years made gloomy by the disgraceful war against Ferrara and the dissensions of the Orsini and the Colonna, Giuliano appears at his best in the quality of peacemaker. No one attempts, except on the plea of senility, to justify the alliance of Sixtus with the grasping Republic of Venice for the overthrow of the Este dynasty. It was an insane scheme of Girolamo to aggrandize himself with the aid of Venice, and when he discovered (what was patent from the beginning) that the Venetians, after devouring Ferrara, would devour his own little territory, he caused his uncle to turn face, order his allies to withdraw their troops, and, on their refusing, to excommunicate them. It would be difficult to find in the entire history of the Papacy so reckless an exercise of the supreme power of the keys.

The Ferrarese war was on the point of breaking out when Cardinal Giuliano returned from his second legation to France; and to him Duke Ercole d'Este and Lorenzo de Medici had recourse, beseeching him to exert his influence in the interest of peace. "They were well acquainted," says Pastor,³ "with the Cardinal's opinion of the ambitious and restless Riario." "Duke Ercole," says Reumont,⁴ "vainly tried through Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere to make the Pope understand that it would be neither to the honor nor the ad-

¹ Pastor, IV., p. 322, very justly expresses his amazement that Brosch knows nothing of this embassy, and finding no mention of Giuliano in contemporary Venetian authorities, "takes upon himself to suggest that the Cardinal Legate may at this time have fallen under the Pope's displeasure." Thus history is written! ² Pastor, IV., 334. ³ IV., 352. ⁴ "Lorenzo de Medici," Vol. II., p. 198.

vantage of the Holy See to leave him to be crushed by the superior power of Venice." Unfortunately, the aged Pope was so completely enslaved by the overbearing Riario that, as Brosch remarks, "twenty Giulianos could not have moved him to act against the will of Girolamo."¹

Giuliano made another solemn effort in July, 1482. Placing himself at the head of the Cardinals then residing in Rome, he repaired to the Vatican and earnestly implored the Pope to restore tranquillity to Italy. "Hearing of this, Girolamo hastened to the Holy Father and succeeded in dissipating the last hope of peace." It was a strange and aimless war, and so completely were the old ideas and traditions of men upset that we find the Duke of Urbino leading the troops of the Pope's enemies, whilst the Papal army is under the command of Robert Malatesta.

It was slow work convincing Sixtus that in aiding to extend the possessions of Venice he was building up the most dangerous enemy of the Holy See—"the very power which threatened to become most dangerous to him by its constant endeavors to obtain control over the cities on the Adriatic coast."² But finally the peace party prevailed. "Giuliano della Rovere—who, twenty years after, as his uncle's successor, opposed in arms the power of this republic, his uncle's old ally—seems to have been the means of finally inducing the Pope to break with Venice."³

The last year of Sixtus IV. was embittered by the intestine quarrels of the Roman nobility, especially the recrudescence of the old feuds between the Orsini and the Colonna. Into this affair we need to enter only to say that Cardinal Giuliano again appears as the determined opponent of Girolamo's violence and as a *sequester pacis*. When the Colonna faction had been crushed and their palaces razed to the ground, the Cardinal came forward to advocate moderation and amnesty. It is also said that "high words passed between Girolamo Riario and Cardinal Giuliano, even in the presence of the Pope. Cardinal Giuliano had granted asylum in his palace to some fugitives from Cardinal Colonna's dwelling, and had expressed his displeasure at Riario's violence. Girolamo accused the Cardinal of protecting rebels and enemies of the Church. Giuliano replied that the men whom he protected were no rebels against the Church, but some of her most faithful servants; that Girolamo was hunting them out of Rome, setting the Church of God on fire and destroying her. He was the cause of all the evil deeds which were bringing ruin on the Pope and on the Cardinals. The Count, on this, flew into a rage and declared that he would drive him out of the country, burn

¹ Brosch, p. 24.

² Reumont, II., 202.

³ Reumont, ibid.

his house over his head, and give it up to plunder, as he had done to that of the Colonna."¹

Is it not just possible that the poor old Pope, as he witnessed this disedifying domestic squabble, may have begged pardon of God and His Church for having obstructed his needy relatives upon the Papacy? Not long after, August 12, 1484, he passed away, leaving Rome in confusion and far worse scenes to follow.

The energetic measures by which the College of Cardinals restored order in the Eternal City and banished Girolamo to the Romagna are graphically narrated by Pastor.² In the ensuing Conclave Cardinal Giuliano, though without hope of securing the election for himself, dictated that of a candidate "who owed everything to him." This was Cardinal Cibo, a Genoese, who had been Bishop of the native seat of the Rovere in the days of their obscurity and who was indebted to the personal friendship of Giuliano for his subsequent elevation to the Cardinalate. The chief merit of Cibo in the eyes of Giuliano was his weakness and indecision of character, which emboldened the Rovere to aspire to the position of "the power behind the throne." In order to carry through the election of his creature, "he threw himself into the contest with all the unscrupulous energy of his nature and did not hesitate to have recourse to bribery. . . . The worldly-minded Cardinals were all the easier now to win over, because they were afraid that he might ally himself with the Venetians, in which case Barbo, whose principles in morals were very strict, would have ascended the chair of S. Peter. Giuliano succeeded first in gaining the Cardinals Orsini, Raffaele Riario, then Ascanio Sforza. Sforza was followed by Borgia, and the latter persuaded Giovanni d'Aragona to join their party. Jakob Burchard, who took part in the conclave, relates that Cardinal Cibò won the votes of his future electors by signing petitions for favors which they presented to him during the night in his cell. The negotiations had lasted through the whole night. By the morning of 29th August, 1484, Giuliano della Rovere had secured eighteen votes for Cibò. The opposition party now gave up all resistance as useless. At 9 o'clock A. M. Cardinal Piccolomini was able to announce to the crowd assembled outside the Vatican that Cardinal Cibò had been elected and had assumed the name of INNOCENT VIII. The people burst forth into acclamations, the bells of the palace of S. Peter's began to ring, and the thunder of cannons resounded from the Castle of S. Angelo."³

Instead of rejoicing, the short-sighted populace ought to have gone through the streets of Rome chanting the Miserere and tolling

¹ Pastor, IV., 383.

² Vol. V., p. 229 *et seqq.*

³ Pastor, Vol. V., p. 238.

the church bells in token of the departing decorum of the Sacred College. Had Giuliano sought the things that are of Christ instead of pursuing his own selfish aims, he had influence enough to check the downward tendency which had set in. But the shameful Conclave of 1484 was followed, as a logical consequence, by the still more shameful election of Borgia by the same simoniacal methods in 1492. Eight years of the Pontificate of one who flaunted in the Vatican the fruits of his early incontinency made it possible to intrude into the Papal Seat one who continued in incontinency till his old age.

In forcing Cibò upon the Church, is it not possible that Giuliano, who was tarred with the same pitch, was deliberately introducing a precedent in order to facilitate his own elevation on a future occasion? A precedent was certainly needed; for the Popes of the Middle Ages had at least been chaste. Dante, who in his bitter partisanship has accused them of almost every other crime, has never once charged them with gross immorality. Nor can the Popes of the Tuscan era be quoted otherwise than as exceptions confirming the rule; for they were not the free choice of the qualified electors, but creatures of the civil power.

At any rate Innocent was elected, and merrily rang the bells. As a token of gratitude and of servitude the Pope installed the Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula in the Vatican, and it was well understood in Urbe and in Orbe that Giuliano was master and Innocent a docile slave.

The first use which Giuliano made of his grand vizirship was to involve the Pope in a war with Naples, the necessity and opportunity of which are by no means apparent. Not that there were not solid grievances against the Aragonese monarch, who in his anxiety for the aggrandisement of his realm was insistent upon the annexation of Terracina and of the Papal enclaves of Benevento and Pontecorvo. He, moreover, refused to pay any other tribute for his kingdom than the traditional white palfrey. There was also sharp antagonism between King Ferrante, who wished to be master in his realm, and his barons, who were as refractory as the vassals of the Pope. In addition to these subjects of dispute which arose from the feudal relations of Rome and Naples, there were serious complaints against Ferrante on account of his arrogant pretensions in matters pertaining to the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom. The differences might possibly have been adjusted by compromise; but Giuliano was not a man who believed in compromises. On October 14, 1485, Innocent, though destitute of allies except the rebellious barons, and opposed by all the Italian powers, declared war

against Ferrante. In a few weeks the Neapolitan army under Duke Alfonso, the King's son, reinforced by the Orsini, the Florentines and the Milanese, appeared before the gates of Rome.

"Amidst the general alarm and excitement," says Pastor,¹ "there was one man only who kept his head on his shoulders, and that was Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere. If Rome did not fall into the hands of the enemy, and if their hopes of help from within the city itself were disappointed, it was to the iron energy of that prelate that the Pope's thanks were due. Day and night he allowed himself no rest. In the cold December nights he was to be seen with Cardinals Colonna and Savelli making the round of the guards of the gates and walls. The Vatican was turned into a fort, the house of the Neapolitan Ambassador was pillaged, the castle of the Orsini on Monté Giordano was set on fire. Virginio Orsini swore that he would have his revenge; that the head of Giuliano should be carried through the town spiked on a lance."

"Virginio Orsini carried on the war with Rome with the pen as well as with the sword. He wrote pamphlets calling for the deposition of Giuliano, whom he accused of the most horrible vices, and of Innocent VIII. The Romans were urged to rebel against the degrading tyranny of the 'Genoese sailor,' who was not even a true Pope. Orsini offered to assist in bringing about the election of a new Pontiff and new Cardinals, and threatened to throw Innocent VIII. into the Tiber."²

Evidently Giuliano's reckless leadership had led the Papal policy into a blind alley, from which there were but two methods of escape. Innocent must either retrace his steps and accept such terms as his enemies chose to concede, or he must hew down the opposition of the Italians by the importation of foreign troops. That was a most momentous meeting of the Cardinals in which this solemn alternative was discussed, and the hatred which every Catholic feels for the name of Borgia is materially lessened when we reflect that the detested Rodrigo resisted Giuliano and his French colleague, La Balue, with stubborn persistence. From this time forward Borgia and Giuliano were bitter and unrelenting enemies. The fact that Borgia was notoriously immoral in his private life has led many to admire the hatred with which Julius pursued him in life and death. But it was no subject of ethics which caused the dissension between them; in this regard they were on equal terms. The estrangement arose from their divergent views on politics; and it is highly significant of the low conception of patriotism enter-

¹ Vol. V., p. 257.

² Pastor, V., p. 258.

tained by the Italians of that age that Borgia the Spaniard was a better Italian patriot than Rovere the Ligurian.

Although every courier from every section of Christendom brought letter upon letter to Pope Innocent pleading for the restoration of peace; though the Emperor and the King of Spain and the Duke of Brittany, and we know not how many more, expostulated and threatened the convocation of a General Council; though the King of Hungary went so far as to send troops to the assistance of Ferrante, his wife's father, the voice of Innocent, that is to say, of Giuliano, was still for war.

In the isolated condition of the Pope and his vizir one hope remained: France might be persuaded to intervene. The long-headed and much-calumniated Louis XI. had died in 1483; he had left a boy, Charles VIII., to succeed him. It might be possible to induce the French to revive the defunct Angevine pretensions to the crown of Naples. Fortunately for Innocent, Giuliano, on March 23, 1486, proceeded to Genoa in order to conduct the negotiations with France and the Duke of Lorraine at closer range. Whilst the Cardinal was occupied in this affair and in fitting out a fleet, his adversaries took advantage of his absence to dispose the timid Pontiff to peace, which was concluded suddenly on August 10. The terms were dictated by the Pope. Ferrante yielded every point at issue, all the more readily because he had determined to violate every concession as soon as the Papal army was disbanded.

"Looking at the conditions that Ferrante accepted, no one would have guessed that his was the victorious side. In this he can hardly have been actuated by the fear of France alone. The clue to his apparent amiability must rather be sought in his subsequent conduct, for his facility in making concessions on paper was more than counterbalanced by the skill with which he evaded the fulfilment of his engagements."¹

Giuliano hastened back to Rome and exerted himself to the utmost to persuade the Pope that the treaty which had been concluded was a mere delusion. But Innocent had no desire to continue the struggle; and Giuliano, finding his efforts unavailing, retired to sulk in his fortress of Ostia. As he had foreseen, "the whole compact was as quickly broken as it had been concluded. There can hardly be found in all the annals of history a more scandalous violation of a treaty."²

It was not in the nature of the Rovere to remain inactive for any considerable length of time. On March 2 of the following year he was appointed legate for the March of Ancona, with the special duty of subduing a certain Guzzoni, who, during the troubles with

¹ Pastor, V., p. 264.

² Ibid.

Naples, had taken forcible possession of Osimo, and who, in order to retain power, had invited the Sultan to invade Italy. It took the Papal troops five months to reduce the place; and even then Guzzoni dictated his own terms. Meanwhile Giuliano wearied of his task, and was replaced by Cardinal La Balue.

It soon became apparent that Pope Innocent had passed out of the tutelage of Cardinal della Rovere and had come under the influence of a far more cautious politician. This was none other than Lorenzo de Medici, who for the remaining five years of this Pontificate (1487-1492) guided the Pontiff through his difficulties. Lorenzo had gained this influence by proposing a family alliance with His Holiness. He gave his daughter Maddalena in marriage to Franceschetto Cibò, whom Innocent had begotten when a youth of seventeen, before he had any thought of taking Orders. "The family alliance between the Medici and the Cibò," says Reumont,¹ "has this peculiarity, that in this case, for the first time, the son of a Pope was in some degree recognized and brought on the political stage, the sad beginning of a grievous error in the history of the Papedom." The price which Lorenzo demanded for this sacrifice of his daughter's honor and happiness was the elevation to the Cardinalate of his son Giovanni, a lad of fourteen, later Pope Leo X. In complying with this strange demand of his prospective ally, Pope Innocent retained enough sense of decency to stipulate that the boy should not take his seat in the Sacred College for three years, a condition which Lorenzo very unwillingly accepted, and which he subsequently made every effort to set aside. When we consider that the chief reason of the degeneracy of the higher dignitaries of Holy Church in that age was the bad example set by the Cardinals, who were chosen mainly by political influence, we can estimate the hollowness of the clamor for reform raised, as a rule, most loudly by those who were most responsible for the sad state of affairs.

But the immediate effect of Lorenzo's alliance with His Holiness was unquestionably beneficial; for the Medici was a wise and prudent statesman, and his tact served as a counterpoise to the impetuosity of Giuliano. Another war between Naples and the Pope seemed inevitable. Ferrante's violation of his treaty of peace was flagrant and insolent. "In the latter half of July (1487) Innocent held a consistory on the condition of affairs in Naples. The whole college of Cardinals agreed with him that the honor of the Holy See no longer permitted him to look on unmoved."² The nuncio whom the Pope dispatched to Naples was received with contumely and summarily dismissed. At this juncture Lorenzo wrote to his ambassador at Rome:

¹ *Lorenzo*, II., p. 265.

² Reumont, p. 270.

"The more I think over the matter, the more I am confirmed in my view, that the Pope must neither yield his rights to the king nor make war upon him. The way to avoid both extremes seems to me to be this: that the Pope should without delay take every measure to maintain his rights as to the question of homage, but on the other hand avoid everything that might lead to a passage of arms or to an interdict. We are not in a fit condition for making war, and the circumstances of Italy in general, as well as those of the States of the Church in especial, will not sustain a shock. An interdict unsupported by arms produces little effect; therefore I think for the present the matter is best left alone,"¹ with many more words to the same effect. The efforts of Lorenzo to prevent the renewal of war between Naples and the Holy See, efforts which were finally successful, form the most glorious title to fame of the Florentine statesman. As Reumont justly observes: "All the misfortunes that befell Ferrante's family and dynasty in 1495 (at the time of the French invasion) were provoked by his self-will of six years before. It was no thanks to him nor to his son, who was worse than he, nor to the Pope, that they were not overtaken then by the misfortune of which both parties—the one in his ambitious, tyrannical stubbornness, the other in his inconsiderate weakness—seemed to have no foreboding. That it was avoided for a time was chiefly owing to Lorenzo de Medici, a fact the merit of which ought to cover many of his sins."²

Pope Innocent's weakness was owing to his wavering between the restraining counsels of Lorenzo on the one hand and the aggressive suggestions of Cardinal Giulano on the other. The Neapolitan ambassador openly lay the entire blame of the quarrel upon the Cardinal. He maintained that when the king in the negotiations for the peace had promised to pay the tribute, it was with the understanding that the Pope "would not insist upon it." "But no sooner was I away," continues the envoy, "(would to God I had not gone in such a hurry!) than Cardinal della Rovere arrived from Genoa, and thereupon they rearranged the conditions according to their pleasure."³ The Neapolitan, of course, was not stating the entire truth; but he shows that his master recognized who was his most formidable adversary. We also feel that it was rather Giulano than Innocent who was speaking when the Pope made the threat, if pushed to the wall, of retiring beyond the Alps and returning with an avenging army. This had been for some time, and constantly remained, the Rovere's drastic remedy for the ills of Italy; that is to say, until, as Julius II., he raised the contrary cry of "Out with the Barbarians."

¹ Reumont, p. 271.

² Lorenzo, II., p. 409.

³ Reumont, II., p. 418.

Finally Ferrante came to terms; and with that sudden revulsion of sentiment so common in Italy, he became most demonstrative in his assurances of esteem for the Pope and the Cardinal. From the former he begged, as a great favor, the hand of a daughter of his daughter Theodorina for his grandson, the Marquis of Gerace. As for Giuliano, "he and the king ceased to oppose each other, for they needed each other. Nothing was wanting to their intimacy at the beginning of the next Pontificate, except the element of *duration*. For it was soon to happen that Giuliano della Rovere, disregarding every consideration of duty, should become the chief instigator of the foreign invasion which hurled the Aragonese monarch from his throne and plunged his Italian fatherland into misery and bondage."¹

Giuliano's reconciliation with Ferrante was followed by his reconciliation with the Orsini, especially with Virginio, the same who had threatened to carry the Cardinal's head through Rome spiked on a lance.

The motive of this new-born affection was patent. The condition of Pope Innocent's health was such as to make it clear that the Chair of St. Peter, the sole object of Giuliano's ambition, would soon be vacant. The candidate for the Papacy could not afford to make for himself unrelenting enemies. On the other hand, the friendship of a candidate with Giuliano's ability and energy was worth cultivating.

As a matter of fact, Giuliano did not become Pope in 1492; and his career during the Pontificate of his successful rival, Alexander VI., will furnish ample material for a separate article.

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¹ Brosch, Julius II., p. 49.

GOVERNMENT SECULARIZATION OF THE EDUCATION OF CATHOLIC INDIAN YOUTH.

ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1898. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898. Octavo, pages 1,062.

INDIAN AND WHITE IN THE NORTHWEST; or a history of Catholicity in Montana. By L. B. Palladino, S. J. With an introduction by Right Rev. John B. Brondel, first Bishop of Helena. Octavo, pages 409. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1894.

DOMINION OF CANADA. Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended June 30, 1898. Octavo, pages 597. Printed by order of Parliament, Ottawa, 1899.

DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS. Details of expenditure and revenue for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1898, as contained in the Auditor General's Report. Octavo, pages 142. Ottawa, 1899.

WE have before us the report of William A. Jones, United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898. It is an octavo volume of more than 1,000 pages; in it will be found the reports of every official connected with the management of the affairs of the nations, the tribes, the communities and the bands of American Indians living within the territory of the United States.

The important office of the United States Commissioner is under the control of the Department of the Interior. It is one of the richest plums at the disposal of the President-elect when inaugurated. Its desirability is not on account of the salary of the office, which is only \$4,000 per year, but on account of the peculiar as well as the extensive patronage under its control.

Congress appropriates about \$7,500,000, for purposes specifically designated each year, which is to be expended under the direction of the United States Commissioner, through his agents and subordinates, who are accountable to him in their respective departments. The appropriations for the fiscal year mentioned were:

Current and contingent expenses.....	\$782,840
Fulfilling treaty stipulations.....	3,250,400
Miscellaneous support, gratuities.....	664,125
Incidental expenses.....	80,000
Support of schools.....	2,638,390
Miscellaneous.....	238,100

Total.....	\$7,653,855
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It devolves upon the Commissioner to see that the treaty stipula-

tions are fulfilled each year, which include the payment of annuities in money and kind to all the tribes and communities comprised within the Indian population entitled thereto—from Western New York, North, South and West, to the shores of the Pacific. It devolves upon him to see that the rights of the weaker bands are not encroached by the stronger; and that the interests of both are protected against the unlawful schemes and the cupidity of the whites. The supreme control of the education of Indian youth is confided to his care, involving the outlay of \$2,638,390 appropriated for Indian schools. So also has he supervision over the expenditure of about \$1,000,000 more for miscellaneous support and contingencies. Under his control are the trust funds of the Indian tribes in the Treasury of the United States, deposited there according to treaties, which bear interest at four and five per cent. Congress has no control over these trust funds, which aggregate about \$34,000,000, and yield an annual interest of \$1,624,000.

Under his control are the lands ceded to the Government by treaty, the proceeds of which when sold are placed to the credit of the respective tribes and communities in whose possession these lands had been held, aggregating millions of acres and containing untold millions of forestal, mineral and grazing wealth. The Commissioner also controls the disposition of the reservation lands—when the advance of civilization renders their sale necessary and advantageous to their occupants.

Nor are all the tribes in dependent circumstances. The Osages of Oklahoma, comprising 906 full bloods and 855 of mixed blood, have on deposit in the United States Treasury \$8,447,090, which yields an aggregate interest of \$422,050 per annum. The Southern civilized and semi-civilized tribes, comprising the Cherokees, the Choctaws, the Creeks, the Seminoles, etc., have on deposit in the Treasury \$7,718,000, about equally divided, which yields an annual interest of \$382,190.

The different bands of the Sioux have \$3,480,000, earning an aggregate of \$174,000 interest annually; the Sissetons and the Utes, nearly \$3,000,000, with an interest revenue of \$134,000; the Cheyennes and the Arapahoes, \$1,000,000, earning \$50,000 yearly interest; the Chickasaws have \$1,174,000, earning \$84,335 yearly; the Sac and the Fox, over a million and a half, with annual interest of \$76,500, while twenty-four other nationalities not so wealthy have an aggregate of \$6,120,000, earning \$301,000 yearly interest.

Subordinate to the Commissioner is the small army of agents, superintendents of tribes and of schools, who are appointed by him and whose tenure of office is usually four years. They exercise supreme control in their respective spheres over the Indian com-

munities. Under these officials is another army of subordinates occupied in the local administration of the ordinary affairs of the respective bands and tribes. Besides the control of these functionaries, the Commissioner has the supervision of the allotment of the annual contracts for supplies of all kinds to be furnished the people of certain tribes in accordance with treaties, which aggregate a large sum, the details of which occupy 343 closely printed octavo pages of the annual report of the fiscal year. These supplies are distributed, as stated, according to treaty stipulation by the respective subordinate agents of the Commissioner, as well as the annuities to be paid in money, in the chief centres of the Indian communities.

A study of the articles in the contracts made during one year will give some idea of the immensity of the details in this one department. Nor should it be overlooked that the annuities in kind and in money are not donations given in relief, but for the payment of Indian lands ceded to the Government as a necessary consequence of the demands of settlers, growing out of the progress of white civilization. The Commissioner has under his control the leasing of reservation lands for grazing and for the cutting of timber. He has also to oversee the allotments of lands in severalty in the respective reservations, which is a progressive movement in the interest of the Indian towards citizenship.

All the functions detailed, which are but a part of the whole of what constitutes the power of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, are stated to show the great extent of his jurisdiction over what relates to the material interest of the American Indian. But he also has control over the intellectual and more or less of the spiritual interests of all the Indian youth. The Government to-day sustains in the Indian country, at Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, and at Mount Pleasant, in Michigan, 148 boarding and training schools, with an average attendance of 16,233 pupils, and 149 day schools, all of which two latter are in the Indian country, with an average attendance of 3,682 pupils.

This is an increase during the past two decades of the former class of 100 and of the latter of 47. It is at the Commissioner's discretion where the Indian youth shall be educated in Catholic schools and convents in the Northwest, according to the appropriation.¹ The Government schools are expensive, the total cost of the whole system during the fiscal year being \$2,521,428—the salaries paid the superintendents of the boarding schools ranging from \$1,000 to \$2,000 per annum. The school at Carlisle, Pa., costs for salaries alone \$40,880.

¹ The appropriation for Catholic education made each year limits the amount to be expended therefor.

There is a vicious feature in the appointment of the agents and superintendents, who, as stated, become the local rulers over the respective tribes and communities. These officials are appointed through the influence of Congressmen and Senators, as a reward for political services rendered. Their tenure of office, as stated, rarely exceeds four years, during which they seek to realize the perquisites obtainable in their respective positions. The exception to the rules generally controlling this class of appointments has been the appointment of army officers in certain important localities, who served without extra compensation and whose administrations have been intelligent, humane, strictly honest and satisfactory to the Indians as well as to the Government. Unfortunately the exigencies of the armies in Cuba and in the Philippines has necessitated the recall to their respective regiments of most of the officers detailed for such service, there being only four left in the Indian country.

The maladministration of agents and superintendents, despite the precautionary system of control by the United States Commissioner, has been so bad that certain aggrieved tribes have been driven to the verge of outbreak. In his report for the current year the Commissioner outlines the causes leading to the revolt of the Chippewas.

The tribes of this nation, he alleges, were outrageously swindled and their people grievously wronged; first, in connection with "liquor prosecutions," where deputy marshals "set up" prosecutions and cited the Chippewas to appear as witnesses at St. Paul, merely to realize on their official fees. In many cases the unfortunate Chippewas were arrested and taken to St. Paul, and then left to get home as best they could, having to beg for food on their way. An honest, watchful agent would have prevented this scandalous outrage.

But a more astounding fraud, probably the greatest in recent years, was perpetrated on the Chippewas by the estimators of the pine lands they had ceded to the Government by treaty, where \$280,000 was charged against their fund. Such robberies as those connected with "liquor prosecutions" are derogatory to the integrity of the local agents, while they show a want of vigilance on the part of the Commissioner. It is his duty to see that the United States District Attorney in control prosecutes these deputy marshals and cause their dismissal from the Government service, which they have brought into disrepute.

But the gigantic robbery of nearly \$300,000, paid out of the unfortunate Chippewas' fund for alleged inspection of pine lands, is inexplicable. The Commissioner must have signed the vouchers for these payments. The work was, or should have been, done by contract and bondsmen required; if the latter are responsible they should be made to pay the Government for the fraud and restitution

in part made to the Chippewas. It is the duty of the Senators from Minnesota to probe this matter and bring the offenders to justice, whether the Commissioner takes action or not.

The appropriations made each year by Congress are according to the estimates submitted by the Commissioner, and they outline to some extent the policy to be pursued. The budget usually passes through the House of Representatives by a party vote. When it comes before the Senate it is referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs, where it undergoes a close scrutiny.

Experienced Senators interested in the welfare of the American Indian race are zealous in opposing whatever might appear detrimental to the interest of the Indian and of his family.

We have said the Commissioner has control over the intellectual, as he has to a considerable extent, over the spiritual development in the education of Indian youth.

Fifty or more years ago the Rocky Mountain and Northwestern Indian nations were solidly pagan; not only on the American side of the boundary line, but across this line into the British Northwestern regions, where the same nationalities and kindred tribes ruled supreme. In Montana the leading nations of the "Rockies" lived in their wild state and were constantly at war among themselves.

Through the influence of the Flat Head nation, who were the elite of the Montana tribes, Father De Smet, S. J., made the long and dangerous journey from St. Louis, Mo., to the Flat Head village in 1841. He inaugurated the introduction of Christianity and prepared the way for the advent of the Jesuit Fathers from the Turin Province in Italy and from the Belgian Province.

The young Jesuit Fathers who subsequently came to continue the work of Father De Smet were among the brightest, the most intellectual and the most zealous as well as the most pious of the Catholic missionaries who during three centuries had left the refined circles of European life to cross the Atlantic and to engage in missionary work among the Indians of North America. The rendezvous of these young priests was at the Jesuit college of St. Louis. From this centre a perilous journey of 1,000 or more miles through a country traversed by hostile pagan tribes would have to be made before the scene of their apostolic labors would be reached. They brought with them lay brothers and scholastics who were skilful adepts not only in the mechanic arts, but also in agricultural knowledge. The history of their missionary work may not be recited in this article. Its details have been published by one of their illustrious members, Rev. Louis B. Palladino, S. J., in his "*Indian and White in the Northwest.*"

The golden jubilee of the foundation of the Montana missions was celebrated in 1892. This work of the Catholic Church forms one of the most instructive and interesting chapters in the history of civilization in North America. Consider the wild tribes of the "Rockies" evangelized and brought under religious discipline. These are in alphabetical order: The Assiniboines, Blackfeet, Cœur d'Alénes, Cheyennes, Colvilles, Crees, Crows, Gros Ventres, Flat Heads, Kalispels, Kootenays, Missoulas, Nez Perces, Piegans, Pend d'Oreiles, Shoshones and Teutons.

What is most remarkable in this glorious chapter of Catholic Church history in the Northwest is that at the epoch of the Golden Period more than nine-tenths of the Indian population of Montana, young and old, were practical Catholics, whose heads of families had prospered and are now in fair circumstances. The prominence of the Catholic religion is in evidence. An apostolic Bishop, venerable clergy, religious orders of men and of women, academies, schools, churches, hospitals, asylums for orphan boys and girls, a House of the Good Shepherd, with a white population of Catholics, among whom "up-to-date" sodalities, confraternities and charitable societies of both sexes have good foundations.

To provide education for Catholic Indian children, the United States Commissioner made contracts with Catholic mission schools for a stated number at so much per capita, and for other children with sectarian missionary schools, all of which were officially known as contract schools.

What is meant by contract schools may be more fully explained as follows: In Montana, for instance, where the Indian population is solidly Catholic, there are boarding and training schools for boys and girls conducted by religious orders of men and women. In 1895 there were such institutions for the Blackfeet, the Crow, the Flat Head, the Fort Belknap and the Tongue River agencies.

For that year the United Commissioner made contracts with these Catholic missionary schools according to the funds appropriated for the education of pupils as follows in Montana:

Blackfeet, 100, at \$125 each.....	\$12,500
Crows, 85, at \$108 each.....	9,180
Flat Heads, 300, at \$150 each.....	45,000
At Fort Belknap, 135, at \$108 each.....	14,580
At Tongue River, 40, \$108 each.....	4,320

Number of pupils, 660. Total cost.....\$85,580

In 1899 the effect of the sectarian propaganda in Congress against the Government education of Catholic Indian children resulted in the following reductions:

Blackfeet, reduced to 34, at \$108 each.....	\$3,672
Crows, reduced to 34, at \$108 each.....	3,672
Flat Heads, reduced to 161, at \$108 each.....	17,388
At Fort Belknap, reduced to 49, at \$108 each.....	5,292
At Tongue River, reduced to 26, at \$108 each.....	2,808

Reduction in the number of pupils contracted for in Montana, 356; reduction per capita, 28 per cent.; reduction in total cost, \$52,748.

Similar reductions were made in contract school education throughout all the Indian reservations and communities where Catholic Indian children were to be educated. Even in the little town of Baraga, on Lake Superior, founded by the saintly missionary Bishop of that name, where in 1895 the Government paid for the education of 45 pupils at \$108 each per annum, this number was reduced in 1899 to 19, with a difference in the cost of \$2,808.

In the Ottawa old time mission of L'Arbre Croche, now known as Harbor Springs, Michigan, the number of pupils was reduced from 95 to 34, with a diminished cost to the appropriation for the education of these Catholic Indian pupils of \$6,528.

In the Dakotas, where all was Indian, the reduction was excessive, as it was also in the Chippewa reservations, where the reduction was 50 per cent. At Green Bay, Wisconsin, where 130 pupils had been educated at a cost of \$108 each per annum, the number was reduced to 45, with a diminished charge to the appropriation of \$9,240.

The Kate Drexel school in Oregon, where 60 pupils were paid for at \$108 per capita, at a total cast of \$6,000, has been reduced in number to 24 at \$100 per capita, with a total cost of \$2,400. In regard to the Hampton Institute, in Virginia, and the Lincoln Institution, at Philadelphia, Pa., both of which are provided for by special appropriations, 120 pupils were maintained in the former and 200 in the latter at a cost of \$167 per capita, which is some \$50 more than the average paid in the Indian country. It is needless to say these are non-Catholic institutions, whose pupils are brought from the boarding schools in the Northwest.

An exception to this peculiar feature in the Government system of the education of Indian youth is to be found in Oklahoma, where are the Osage reservations. These Osages are, as has been stated, "the richest people on earth." They are solidly Catholic, and they support missionary schools for the education of their children out of the interest on their funds on deposit in the United States Treasury.

In 1892 the appropriations for Catholic schools for Indian youth was \$394,756, the highest reached after 1890, while for all other denominations the total was \$216,814.

The general non-Catholic public could not understand the disproportion between the former and the latter; nor was the fact generally known that the majority of Indian youth to be educated were Catholic.

Taken in connection with the eclat of the golden jubilee of Catholicity in Montana, the large amount appropriated for Catholic Indian education excited the alarm of pessimistic non-Catholics, and then followed the crusade in Congress and elsewhere against the appropriation of public money for Catholic purposes. This propaganda has been detrimental to the educational interests of Catholic Indian youth. In 1893 the appropriation was reduced to \$375,843; in 1894 it was \$389,745; in 1895 it was reduced to \$359,215; in 1896 it was cut to \$308,471; in 1897 it was reduced to \$198,228; in 1898 to \$156,754; while for the year 1899 it is only \$116,862. In the meantime the Presbyterian, the Congregational, Episcopal, Friends (Quaker), Mennonite, Unitarian, Lutheran, Methodist, etc., had disappeared from the list of contract schools.

It has become apparent that the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs favors the policy of educating the youth of Catholic Indian parents in non-Catholic Government schools. In pursuance of this policy the number of Indian boarding and industrial schools and the number of day schools has been gradually increased, while the respective agents and superintendents of Indian communities have used their authority to influence if not to compel the attendance of Indian pupils. Whatever advantage there may be to the average Indian pupil attending the boarding and industrial schools, it is the opinion of many interested in the education of Indian children that the average day school is a costly and not altogether an advantageous system.

As a rule these schools are to the Indian child dismal affairs, and were it not that at noon the children are given a substantial meal there would be scant attendance.

It is apparent, moreover, that these schools in the Northwest are intended as nurseries for the boarding and training establishments, the pupils of the former being transferred to the latter by the power of the agents, in conformity with the design of making the education of Indian youth non-Catholic.

The present system of non-sectarian education costs an annual outlay of \$2,500,000. Would it not be more advantageous to civilization, would it not be more just that Catholic Indian youth be provided with Catholic teachers, who would confirm them in morality and educate them also?

But this is not a principle recognized under the present Governmental system. In the process of the non-religious education of a

Catholic Indian boy or girl it will be miraculous if that boy or girl, who had been baptized by a Catholic priest and confirmed by a Catholic Bishop, does not graduate from the chilling atmosphere of a Government boarding or training school without the loss of the Catholic faith. But there is a still worse fate reserved for pupils of the schools mentioned.

Each year a certain number of pupils are transferred to the "universities" of the system of non-Catholic education known as the Carlisle, the Mount Pleasant, the Lincoln Institution and the Hampton Institute, the two latter during the past ten years having been maintained by special appropriations outside of the Indian budget of \$33,400 and \$20,000 respectively. If these four institutions, in so far as relates to the religious animus of their principals, be judged by that of the leading "university" of Indian education under the auspices of the American Republic, which is the Carlisle institution in Pennsylvania, costing at least \$100,000 per annum, the hope that any Catholic pupil may graduate therefrom with his or her faith intact will prove groundless.

The principal of this leading "university" at Carlisle, Pa., which in 1898 contained 867 Indian boys and girls, is R. H. Pratt, as he officially signs: Major First United States Cavalry. To do him justice, Major Pratt, who has managed the Carlisle institution more than a decade of years, is outspoken in his antipathy to the Catholic religion. Apparently it would require a miracle as remarkable as that which converted St. Paul to remove the scales from the eyes of R. H. Pratt, Major First United States Cavalry and principal of the Carlisle Indian School.

The most outspoken official champion of opposition to the Catholic education of Indian youth, children of Catholic parents, was United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs T. J. Morgan. He made no secret of his anti-Catholic animus during all his administration; as such he was the representative of the Government of the United States. Unfortunately his methods were supported by a majority of United States Senators.

His first aggressive movement was his effort to break up Catholic ascendancy in educational work in Montana. In 1892 he addressed a letter to the Indian agents in Montana, informing them that a new Indian industrial and training school had been organized at the Fort Shaw reservation, with Dr. William H. Winslow, principal teacher at the Chilico Boarding School, as manager.

"It is intended," said United States Commissioner Morgan, "that a large number of children will be transferred from your reservation to this new school, and you are directed to coöperate heartily with Superintendent Winslow and with Supervisor Parker in their

efforts to secure a large enrollment for Fort Shaw as soon as the school is ready to receive pupils. Children to be transferred should not be under 12 to 14 years of age, and they should have a fair knowledge of English. It is desirable that the children should have been previously in attendance at some other school." "We call the attention," says Father Palladino, "of all fair-minded people to the above, and that every one may be able to judge of its importance and pregnancy we have only to state here the simple fact that of all the Indian youth under 12 to 14 years of age in Montana, to say the least, nine-tenths are Catholics and nearly all in attendance at Catholic schools. This we know to be absolutely true, and a glance at the official Indian school statistics in Montana will convince any one of the fact and the accuracy of our assertion. With regard to the Jocko or Flat Head reservation, the case does not even admit of exception, as all the Indian children there are practical Catholics to a unit.

"It must, then, be evident to every one that the new Fort Shaw school can have no pupils, or that, if it is to have any, nine-tenths of the number must be drawn from the Catholic Indian youth in attendance at Catholic schools. In the first supposition the Fort Shaw school would seem unnecessary and has no reason to exist; in the second, it cannot but be an outrage and a crying injustice on the souls and consciences of these helpless Catholic Indian children. Will the Hon. Commissioner appoint some Catholic priest as spiritual director of his new Fort Shaw institution?

"Will he have a Catholic chaplain to instruct those Catholic Indian children and minister to them the comforts of their religion? One might sooner expect lambs to be protected by wolves than Christian instruction to be allowed these Indian children by Government officials of the Hon. Commissioner Morgan and Dr. Dorchester kind. The Fort Shaw school is a non-sectarian Government institution, and as such, of course, will be conducted on non-sectarian principles. We know the meaning of 'non-sectarian' both in the jargon of nothingarians and in the official language of Commissioner Morgan and his compeers. With the former it is exclusive of all religion; with the latter it simply means nothing in religion that is Catholic, and anything that is non-Catholic, or anything that is non-Catholic and anti-Catholic. This we know from the manner in which the non-sectarian Indian schools of Commissioner Morgan's own making are conducted throughout the land, and we challenge contradiction of our statement. Hence we necessarily conclude that in the Fort Shaw school there will be for our Catholic Indian children something worse than even simply no religious instruction; there will be a positive religious instruction,

but of such a kind only as will be consistent with the non-sectarian character of the institution, of its master and managers, that is, *non-Catholic and anti-Catholic*. We now ask, what can such a school lead to but the practical de-Catholization of every Catholic Indian youth that will be forced to enter its doors?

"The Indian agents of Montana are officially directed to 'coöperate heartily in the efforts to secure a large attendance of pupils for Fort Shaw.' This explains itself and needs no comment at our hands. It can easily be surmised what this coöperation is likely to be; it will be both hearty and very heartless at the same time. What else can it be under the circumstances?"

"Three acres and a cow" will be the price paid Indian parents to have them consent to the 'promotion' of their Catholic children to the new school or some other of the same kind. . . . But what the 'three acres and a cow' method, what bribes and well-known Indian 'tips' may fail to do, the suspension of rations, that is the *starving out process*, is sure to accomplish. An empty stomach, we all know, is a rather strong argument, and its reasonings are never without a peculiar convincing force of their own."

The new administration started out with the publicly avowed purpose to discontinue all Indian contract schools by the substitution of Government ones of the non-sectarian kind. That this policy was inaugurated and continued by the administration principally to do away with the Catholic Indian schools, is no longer a matter of doubt; it is on record and blazoned all along its course and tenure of office. It is true that in the twenty-third annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners of 1891, page 134, we find the following declaration from Commissioner Morgan: "In reference to the contract schools the present policy of the Government is to preserve the *statu quo* and not interfere with the schools already established;" and again: "That it will allow matters to take their own course." But these promises seem to have been forgotten or cast to the winds, and facts belie the words. The bulldozing by the Hon. Commissioner of the Catholic Indian Mission Bureau at Washington, established by the Catholic Hierarchy of the United States to look after the school and mission interests of our Catholic Indians, the diminished number of allowed pupils in Catholic Indian contract schools, the erection, unnecessarily and at a great expenditure of the people's money, of non-sectarian Government schools, side by side with and in opposition to the mission schools; school inspectors, school supervisors and school superintendents of pronounced anti-Catholic propensities, whose principal duty would seem to be to find fault with and run down whatever is Catholic, and the conduct of some of whom has been at times more

noticeable for coarseness and shocking vulgarity than polite, gentlemanly breeding; all this, with more that could be added, is evidence enough that the *statu quo* is not being preserved; that the Catholic Indian schools, at least, are not only being interfered with, but slowly and gradually done away by a policy that aims their continuance practically impossible.

And yet, despite the odds against them, these schools are well conducted, efficient and successful, and as a matter of fact superior to the non-sectarian ones of the Government. And this they are, it would seem, not in the eyes of their friends alone, but in those even of the Government officials who have had occasion to visit them frequently, and who, far from being partial, are openly hostile. We positively know that some of these officials have, time and again, held up our Catholic schools as models and examples for imitation, and they have even directed matrons, teachers and other attaches of the Government Indian schools to acquaint themselves with and to follow Catholic methods. A like testimony from such witnesses is indeed more than a gratifying and unlooked for compliment in favor of our Catholic Indian schools; it is their best vindication.¹

The outlook for the future of Catholic Indian education is gloomy; unless the policy of secularizing this education is interfered with, untold evil will result to the souls of Indian Catholic youth. We have shown that during the passing decade the appropriation for Catholic contract schools has been gradually reduced from \$394,756 to \$116,862. If this process continues, as it probably will continue, the secularization of the education of Catholic Indian children will have been made complete.

This prospect has probably induced the Bishop of Helena to make the situation known to his fellow-citizens and to the Christian world by the following communication:

HELENA, Montana, July 12, 1899.

To whom it may concern: I herewith submit to the consideration of the general public the official reports of the six Indian agents of Montana to the Indian Department at Washington with regard to the Catholic Indian missions. A short time ago there were 300 children of Flat Heads at school in St. Ignatius; 200 children of Gros Ventres and Assinniboines at school in St. Paul's; 200 children of different tribes at school in St. Peter's; 100 children of Crows at school in St. Xavier's; 100 children of Blackfeet at school in the Holy Family mission, and 65 children of Cheyennes at school in St. Labre's. First class buildings, mostly of stone and brick, were erected in the wildest parts of Montana at a cost of \$400,000 and furnished with all the necessary and convenient equipments for boarding, lodging and schooling the Indian children of the respective tribes. Let it be taken into consideration that said expensive structures, etc., were erected in compliance with suggestions, if not demands, of the Government officials and inspectors, whose requirements for Indian school accommodations and equipment seemed to surpass what might have been considered more than sufficient in first-class schools for white children. Under such circumstances the action on the part of Congress in discontinuing to make appropriation for the funds which alone can make the running of said schools possible will hardly be considered as just and fair, more especially as it was at the urgent request of the administration that the Catholic Church en-

¹ "Indian and White in the Northwest," p. 236.

tered upon the work to the extent that it did. As the cause of this unexpected and unfair treatment is traceable to the fact that religion is taught to the children, it may not be amiss to state what is well known to every one acquainted with the work, that in order to successfully civilize the Indian it is necessary to Christianize him.

I hope and pray that this simple and short statement of facts may make the situation clear and induce the legislators at Washington to promote the welfare of the Indians by continuing to extend a helping hand to the devoted men and women engaged in bringing to Christianity and civilization the American Indian.

JOHN B. BRONDEL, Bishop of Helena, Montana.

Bishop Brondel quotes from the official reports of Indian agencies in Montana published in the annual reports of the Department of the Interior for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1898:

Blackfoot Indian Agency—page 183—Education: “There are conducted on this reservation two schools—the Government boarding school on Willow creek, with an attendance of 103, and the Holy Family Mission, on the Two Medicine river, with an attendance of 45. At the Holy Family Mission school the building occupied by the Sisters and girls was destroyed by fire last February. A new building is under process of construction, which when completed will render the school thoroughly complete, where undoubtedly the past excellent work of the Holy Family Mission among the Indians will be continued.”

The Crow Agency—page 188—Education: “The highest number in school attendance during the year was 238 pupils. Of these 158 attended the Government school at the agency and 80 the Catholic mission schools at the Big Horn sub-agency and the Pryor Creek sub-agency. The school at the latter place has been discontinued upon the alleged ground of gradual discontinuance of Government aid. This leaves the Indians on Pryor creek—some 500—without a school, and the nearest point where children from this band can attend school is the Catholic mission school at the Big Horn sub-agency, some fifty miles distant. Much complaint has been entered at this office by the parents of the Pryor creek children on account of the closing of the school at that point.”

The Flat Head Agency—pp. 190-191: “I desire,” reports the agent, “to mention the matter of increased school facilities that to me seem very necessary. For many years past (more than fifty) the education of the children here has been under contract with the Jesuit Fathers; but Congress’ having of late years deemed it wise to eventually discontinue all aid to sectarian schools, has been cutting down their appropriation. The past year the contract provided for 215 children; this year for 161. When it is borne in mind that there are 450 children on the reservation of school age, the necessity for additional school facilities is apparent. It would seem very desirable that a reasonable provision should be made for a boarding school plant at the agency and possibly one day school on Camas prairie. The only school upon the reservation is at St. Ig-

natus Mission, and it is maintained by contract with the Jesuit Fathers. The larger boys are taught by the fathers, while the girls are under the direction of the Sisters of Providence, the kindergarten being taught by the Ursuline nuns. The boys in addition to their school work have the benefit of practical work in the shoe, saddlery, tin, carpenter and blacksmith shops, together with farming and gardening. The girls are taught all kinds of housework, sewing and dairying."

The agent making the above report might have stated that the Flat Head Indians are solidly Catholic.

The Fort Belknap Agency—pp. 192-193-194: "There are on this agency 322 children between the ages of 6 and 18 years. The educational branch of the service on the reservation has been conducted by the industrial boarding school at the agency and the contract school, a Roman Catholic institution, at the Little Rockies. The contract school conducted by the Roman Catholic Church, under the supervision of the Rev. Charles Mackin, at the Little Rocky Mountains, has had a successful year, and did much good work in elevating and training the Indian children of that locality. Several improvements have been made at this institution during the year, and the general appearance of the plant is attractive and prosperous. The missionary work of the reservation is carried on by the Jesuit Fathers, who are faithful and diligent workers and are doing much good among the Indians. A new church is being built at the mission, which will be of great assistance to them in their work."

The Fort Peck Agency—p. 196: "There are 375 children enrolled of school age at this agency, of whom 183 attend school. The Presbyterian and Roman Catholic Churches maintain missionaries. Both are doing good work among the Indians. Considerable progress has been made in the past few years."

The Tongue River Agency—p. 198: "I sincerely trust," reports the agent, "that some steps may be taken in the near future relative to more adequate school facilities for these people. There should be a boarding school on this reservation large enough to accommodate at least 250 pupils. At present we have 384 children of school age. St. Labre's Mission, a contract school on Tongue river, can accommodate 65 pupils; the day school at the agency can accommodate comfortably about 30 pupils, which leaves 289 children without any school facilities whatsoever."

The apparent object of Bishop Brondel in bringing the attention of the American public to the educational status among the Indian tribes of Montana by the official reports of the Government agents was to show the effect of the non-Catholic crusade upon the edu-

tional interests of the Indians in that State, nine-tenths of whom are Roman Catholics. To those familiar with the glorious results of more than half a century's missionary toil in the Northwest among the wild tribes of the "Rockies," and the perfection to which the education of Indian children had been brought in the schools and convents under the charge of some of the most renowned religious orders existing, the great solicitude of the apostolic Bishop for the welfare of the endangered souls of so many of his spiritual children can be understood.

But United States Commissioner Jones is by no means satisfied with the present status. In his recent report for 1899 he urges more schools, more systematic methods, study of individual traits and consideration of subsequent environment in outlining studies in the Indian schools.

The entire educational system of the United States Indian Commissioner's office is predicated upon the final abolishment of the anomalous Indian reservation system, according to Commissioner Jones. But we doubt very much if during his natural life Mr. Jones will see the reservation system abolished.

The Seneca and Tuscarora reservations in Western New York, the remnant of the once extensive domain of these Iroquoian nations, have existed with reduced outlines from the close of the Revolutionary War to the present day, and they are likely to remain under the protection of American law.

Does Mr. Jones imagine he can force such Western nations as the Osage, the Ute and other wealthy Indian communities, who hold their reservations by treaties with the Government, to give up their hunting grounds in accordance with his theory?

Commissioner Jones states there are now 20,522 boys and girls in attendance on the various Indian schools out of an enrollment of over 25,000, the Indian population from which these are taken being 181,000. This population has remained stationary.

He feels, however, compelled to state that one discouraging fact is disclosed by the unsatisfactory results of the past nine years' trial of co-education of the Indians with the whites in the public schools. The results of this co-education are not commensurate with the expenditure. The idea theoretically is an admirable expedient for breaking down prejudices and civilizing the Indian, but the figures show it is not an unqualified success. The full-blood, who needs such contact most, is rarely secured, and the groundwork at least of Indian education must be laid under the Government's auspices and control.

Commissioner Jones urges *stronger measures for forcing the attendance on Indian schools.* Concerning the Indian territory, he

severely arraigns nepotism, lack of management, demoralized conditions and a deplorable state of affairs generally in administering the schools and orphan asylums of the five Indian nations.

But a most pregnant statement emanates from the United States Commissioner's office in the admission that out of 21 of the costly boarding schools, not more than four of the high salaried superintendents are reported competent to teach the ordinary English branches, while financial mismanagement is especially complained of.¹

It occurs to us to say in regard to the Indian reservation system, which the United States Commissioner hopes to break up, so as to acquire more autocratic control over the education of Indian youth, that it is more than probable that the Indians will see the advantage of taking land in severalty in their respective reservations; as tribal control is gradually disappearing and as the Indian, by the allotment process, becomes a citizen *de jure*, he will be entitled to regulate the affairs of his community in the same manner as his more civilized neighbors, the whites.

Over such communities the Commissioner of Indian Affairs can have no control. The educational interests as well as the religious interests of the Indian child reverts to the natural authority of the parent. We believe this will be the inevitable result.

The Indian population of the United States may be safely stated as 180,000. As has been seen, it requires an annual appropriation approximating to \$7,500,000 for the management of our Indian affairs; this is exclusive of the annual payment by the United States Treasury of \$1,624,000 for interest on the funds of the respective Indian communities on deposit in the National Treasury. The American Indian population does not increase. The official census of the Dominion of Canada shows a total Indian population of 100,093 souls in 1898. The same returns for 1897 gave a total of 99,364 souls, which shows that this population does not retrograde. But there are some wild unreclaimed tribes in the Northwest which are not included in the official census.

It cost the Canadian Government \$1,001,305 for the management of its Indian affairs for the year 1898, or a per capita of less than \$10, while it cost the American Government over \$41.60 per capita.

The Canadian Indians include 16,448 Anglicans or Episcopalians, 1,054 Presbyterians, 8,885 Methodists, 1,581 of mixed denominations, 49,535 Roman Catholics, 15,615 pagans and 6,975 whose religion is unknown to the department, many of whom are Roman Catholics.

¹ Taken from an outline of the United States Commissioner's report recently submitted by the Washington correspondent of the Detroit Free Press, November 20, 1898.

Under the control of the Canadian Government there are several Indian nationalities in the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario of kindred stock with American Indians. Of the Iroquoian nationalities, Canada has the Catholic Mohawks at Caughnawago, on the St. Lawrence, who are descendants of the Christian families forced to leave their homes in the Iroquoian cantons by pagan persecution during the seventeenth century. Other Catholic Mohawks are to be found at the St. Regis reservation, while the Mohawks and other tribes of the Six Nations, who in the hegira from the Iroquoian cantons as a consequence of the War of the Revolution, followed Brant Thayandanega to Canada, who are non-Catholics, are domiciled on the Grand River reservation, which was given by the British Government to Brant and his followers for services rendered of that bloody kind which made their presence on American soil impossible. There are besides more than 2,000 Mohawks, Cayugas and Oneidas in other localities in Ontario. There are many bands of Chippewas on the Canadian frontier between Lake St. Clair and the head waters of Lake Superior.

There are over 5,000 Ojibbewas, solidly Catholic, on the coasts, islands and harbors on the Canadian frontier from the vicinity of Lake Huron to the head waters of Lake Superior, all of whom are kindred to our American tribes—besides the Missisaguas, Pottawatomies, Munsees, etc.

Of the 20,618 Indians in Ontario 6,404 are Catholics attended by missionaries. There are in this province 3,219 pagans. In the Province of Quebec there are 10,667 Indians, of whom 7,386 are Catholic, and included in this number are the Abenakis, the Hurons, the Micmacs, the Algonquins and the Montagnais, who have been Catholic during about three centuries.

In the Province of New Brunswick there are 1,627 Indians solidly Catholic. In the Province of Nova Scotia the Indian population is 2,027, composed of Micmacs who were converted by Catholic missionaries three centuries ago. In the Prince Edward Island there are 314 Indians, all Micmac Catholics. In British Columbia the Indian population numbers 2,635. Of these 1,066 are Catholics, 1,000 pagans and the others are Methodists and Presbyterians.

On the Fraser River reservation there are 3,165 Indians, of whom 2,740 are Catholic, 91 Episcopalians, 153 Methodists and 181 pagans. On the Babine and Upper Skeena River agency there are 2,840 Indians, of whom 1,755 are Catholics, 664 are Episcopalians, 247 are Methodists and the remainder pagans. At the Williams Lake agency there are 1,920 Indians, of whom 1,896 are Catholics and 24 are Episcopalians. On the Northwest Coast agency in the same Province of British Columbia there are 4,082 Indians, of

whom 1,164 are Episcopalians, 1,901 are Methodists, 147 of other Protestant sects and 870 pagans. There are no Catholics enrolled at this agency.

Now we come again to kindred tribes ; this time in the Northwest. The Indians at the Kootenay agency number 543, all solidly Catholic. At the Cowichan agency there are 1,913 Indians, of whom 42 are Episcopalians, 153 are Methodists, 55 of other Protestant sects and 1,663 Catholics. At the Kamloops agency there are 3,778 Indians, 1,542 of whom are Episcopalians, 2,235 are Catholics and 1 pagan. At the Kwawkewlth agency there are 1,587 Indians, 730 of whom are Episcopalians, 113 are Methodists, 102 Catholics and 652 are pagans.

This ends the enumeration in the Province of British Columbia.

In the Province of Manitoba we find the kindred tribes of our Chippewas, Crees, Saulteaux and Sioux. There are on the five agencies in Manitoba an aggregate of 6,716 Indians. Of these 2,536 are Episcopalians, 87 of other sects, 1,123 Catholics and 187 pagans.

In the Northwest Territory, which is of vast extent, we find again many kindred tribes of American Indian nationalities. The number enrolled is 14,600, of whom 2,365 are Episcopalians, 650 are Presbyterians, 1,381 are Methodists, 6,700 are pagans and 3,483 are Catholics. In ten other Northwestern and coast agencies, out of 11,673 Indians enrolled 2,064 are Episcopalians, 8,166 are Catholics and probably 2,400 are pagans.

The Episcopalian missions among the Canadian Indians are supported by a wealthy association in London, whose foundation dates back to colonial times. The Methodist and Presbyterian missions are supported by wealthy organizations in Canada. We hope the readers of the *Review* who have kindly given their attention to the Indian status in the Dominion of Canada will not have been wearied by the study. It is important, however, to show how the Canadian Government deals with the educational and spiritual interests of its Indian population. The Dominion Government is our near neighbor ; while across its boundary line from east of Lake Erie to the regions of the Pacific Ocean many of the Indian nationalities, as has been shown, are allied in racial and tribal connection with the parent stocks of the race dwelling on American soil.

The Canadian Government officially recognizes and subsidizes 219 day schools in all the Dominion for the education of Indian youth. Of these 71 are in Ontario, 17 in Quebec, 8 in Nova Scotia, 6 in New Brunswick, 1 in Prince Edward Island, 27 in British Columbia, 46 in Manitoba, 34 in the Northwest territories and 9 are in localities outside treaty limits.

The religious classification of these respective schools, as given in the report of the Department of Indian Affairs for 1898, shows that 72 are Episcopalian, 37 Methodist, 1 Moravian, 6 Presbyterian, 70 Roman Catholic and 33 undenominational. Many of the Episcopalian schools are taught by ministers, while of the Roman Catholic schools 7 are taught by missionary priests and 15 by Sisters of religious orders. Most of the undenominational schools are maintained in the Iroquoian communities in the Province of Ontario.

There are 33 boarding schools in the Dominion, recognized and subsidized by the Government. Of these 16 are Roman Catholic; managed by four religious orders of women; 9 by Missionary Oblate Fathers and 3 by laymen. There are 10 Episcopalian institutions, 4 of which are managed by ministers and 6 by laymen. There are 2 Methodist schools managed by laymen and 5 Presbyterian, 2 of which are managed by ministers and 3 by laymen. Only one of these boarding schools, that at Fort William, is in Ontario, the 32 others are in the Northwestern territories and provinces between Lake Superior and the Pacific Ocean.

The Dominion Government recognizes and subsidizes 22 industrial schools, in which the boys are taught farming and different trades, and the girls sewing, knitting and general housework. Of these institutions 7 are classed as Episcopalian, of which 4 are managed by ministers and 3 by laymen; 9 are Roman Catholic and managed by missionary priests; 4 are Methodist and managed by ministers of that denomination.

A careful study of the reports of all the Indian agents in the Dominion of Canada shows that the system of management is wise and paternal. The tenure of office of these officials is not affected by political changes, and in most cases it is terminated only by death. A considerable number are local pastors and missionary fathers. There are no such scandals and frauds perpetrated upon the unsophisticated Indian tribes and communities as we read of in the reports of the American agents—while in regard to the welfare of the Indian youth in what relates to their intellectual and religious interest there is a marked contrast. On the American side of the line the Government has spent \$20,000,000 of public funds during the past decade to secularize the education of American Indian youth. On the Dominion side the Canadian policy has been to subsidize such religious organizations as were most available according to the religious belief of the Indians in their respective localities. Among the subjects designated by the Superintendent of Indian Affairs of the Dominion of Canada, upon which each agent or principal of Indian schools is required to report, is "Moral and Religious Training."

To illustrate the working of the Canadian system, extracts from the reports of the principals of some of these educational institutions are submitted. The principal of the Brandon Industrial School, in the Province of Manitoba, Rev. John Semmens, a Methodist minister, states: "The following is a list of the services held for the moral benefit of the pupils of our school: Prayers after breakfast in the school room, studies opened with prayer and hymns sung during the day, public prayers every evening at 8 o'clock, prayers with sick children in the hospital room, pupils on Sabbath morning permitted to attend the church in the city, on Sabbath evenings a service of song and prayer and exhortation." These Indian children get a good deal of Methodism.

The principal of the Wikwemikong Industrial School, in Ontario, attached to the extensive missionary establishment of the Jesuit Fathers, which is Rev. G. A. Artus, S. J., states: "The pupils are instructed very carefully in morals and religion by the missionaries themselves, and I am pleased to say that the general conduct has been good, and but few punishments had to be administered last year. The discipline is enforced almost exclusively by means of religious exhortation, prizes and distinctions of honor. They attend all the religious services held in the parish church and receive twice a week special religious and moral instruction."

One of the largest industrial schools in the Province of Manitoba is that of St. Boniface, a Catholic institution. The principal of this school is Rev. J. B. Dorais, who states: "Being aware of the necessity and importance of developing the moral faculties of the children from their childhood, all efforts are made to teach them the principles of Christianity and their duty to God, to others and to themselves. They are brought up in the fear of God and in obedience to the authority which rules them. The pupils' conduct is all that can be desired."

One of the largest industrial schools in the Northwest territories is located at Battleford. It is an Episcopal institution and liberally subsidized. Its principal is Rev. E. Matheson, an Episcopal clergyman, who states: "Moral and religious training is carefully attended to as being the only sure foundation on which to build up a truly useful life; there are daily prayers morning and evening, Sunday services and Sunday school."

The only Presbyterian industrial school in the Northwest territories is at Regina. It is an extensive institution and subsidized by the Dominion Government to the extent of \$19,500 per annum. It is in charge of Rev. A. J. McLeod, a Presbyterian minister, who states: "Great emphasis is laid on the religious training. Since the school opened 72 boys and girls have been admitted into the

Presbyterian Church by profession of faith. In this great work of character building all the members of the staff most cordially coöperate. Regular Sabbath services are held, including a Sabbath school in the afternoon."

The St. Albert Boarding School, in the Northwest territories, is one of the large institutions, of which there are several, which are managed by Sisters of Charity. The Mother Superior, L. A. Dandurand, states: "The greatest care is taken in forming the pupils' character and intellect and to avoid bad habits or influence."

Which of the two systems will conduce most practically to the welfare of the youth of the American Indian race? This race is identical in stock to a great extent on both sides of the national boundary line. On the American side the system of management which has failed to protect the Indian from periodical frauds, is tainted with political influence and interests, and has not been able to combat the efforts of sectarian bigotry to force upon the country the secularization of the education of Indian youth, while spending \$41.60 per capita in the administration of the liberal annual appropriations made by Congress.

The system of management of the Dominion Government is wise and paternal. It is neither tainted by political influence nor has it been affected by sectarian bigotry. Where Indian communities are Catholic, educational and religious instruction are provided because of right and as a matter of policy. Where Episcopalian, Methodist or Presbyterian missionaries have won the Indian from paganism to Christianity, Government aid is freely given to advance this work of civilization, while among the semi-civilized communities in Ontario it is left to these communities to decide upon the cult of religious ministration.

Which of the two systems is the most humane, which the most advantageous to the American Indian, to his present, to his future status as well as to his eternal welfare? Is it not time that a change was made in the interests of humanity in the management and care of our Indian communities?

RICHARD R. ELLIOTT.

Detroit, Mich.

CONSTITUTIO DE IUBILAEI INDULGENTIIS.

I.

*Suspensio Indulgientiarum et Facultatum vertente Anno Universalis
Iubilæi Millesimo Nongentesimo.*

LEO EPISCOPUS

SERVUS SERVORUM DEI

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

Q UOD Pontificum maximorum sanxit auctoritas, ut Anni sacri solemnia Romae potissimum agerentur, id quidem cum pro visa divinitus dignitate et grandioribus muneribus almae Urbis est admodum congruens. Haec enim omnium, quotquot ubique sunt, christianorum patria communis: haec sedes sacrae potestatis princeps, eademque traditae a Deo doctrinae custos semperitera: hinc ut abunico augustissimoque capite in omnes christiana reipublicae venas perenni communicatione vita propagatur. Nihil ergo tam consentaneum, quam catholicos homines vocatu Sedis Apostolicae huc certa per intervalla temporum convenire, ut scilicet una simul et remedia expiandis animis in Urbe reperiant et romanam auctoritatem praesentes agnoscant. Quod cum tam salutare ac frugiferum appareat, sane cupimus ut urbs Roma toto anno proximo maiore qua fieri potest frequentia mortalium celebretur: ob eamque rem peregrinationis romanae cupidis velut stimulos addituri, admisorum expiandorum privilegia, quae liberalitate indulgentiaque Ecclesiae passim concessa sunt, intermitti volumus: videlicet, quod plures decessores Nostri in caassis similibus consuevere, Indulgencias usitatas apostolica auctoritate ad totum Annum sacrum suspendimus: verumtamen prudenti quadam temperatione modoque adhibito, ut infra scriptum est.

Integras atque immutatas permanere volumus et decernimus.

I. Indulgencias in articulo mortis concessas:

II. Eam, qua fruuntur ex auctoritate Benedicti XIII. decessoris Nostri, quotquot ad sacri aeris pulsum de genu vel stantes *Salutationem angelicam*, aliamve pro temporis ratione precationem recitaverint:

III. Indulgenciam decem annorum totidemque quadragenarum Pii IX. auctoritate an. MDCCCLXXVI iis tributam qui pie tempa visitent in quibus Sacramentum augustum quadraginta horarum spatio adorandum proponitur:

IV. Illas item Innocentii XI. et Innocentii XII. decessorum nostrorum decreto iis constitutas, qui Sacramentum augustum, cum ad

aegrotos defertur, comitentur, vel cereum aut facem per alios deferendam ea occasione mittant:

V. Indulgentiam alias concessam adeuntibus pietatis causâ templo sanctae Mariae Angelorum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum extra Assisii moenia a vesperis Calendarum Augusti ad solis occasum diei insequentis:

VI. Indulgentias, quas S. R. E. Cardinales Legati a latere, apostolicae Sedis Nuntii, item Episcopi in usu Pontificalium aut impertienda benedictione aliave forma consueta largiri solent:

VII. Indulgentias Altarium Privilegiatorum pro fidelibus defunctis, aliasque eodem modo pro solis defunctis concessas: item quaecumque vivis quidem concessae sint, sed hac dumtaxat causa ut defunctis per modum suffragii directe applicari valeant. Quas omnes et singulas volumus non prodesse vivis, prodesse defunctis.

De facultatibus vero haec constituimus et sancimus, quae sequuntur.

I. Rata firmaque sit facultas Episcopis aliisque locorum Ordinariis impertiendi indulgentias *in articulo mortis* eamdemque communicandi secundum Litteras a Benedicto XIV. decessore Nostro datas Nonis Aprilis An. MDCCXLVII:

II. Item ratae firmaeque sint facultates Tribunalis Officii Inquisitionis adversus haereticam pravitatem, eiusque Officialium: Missionariorum quoque et Ministrorum qui vel ab eodem Tribunali, vel a Congregatione S. R. E. Cardinalium negotiis propagandae Fidei praeposita, vel alias ab apostolica Sede ad id deputati fuerint: nominatim facultas absolvendi ab haeresi eos, qui, eiurato errore, ad fidem redierint:

III. Ratae firmaeque sint facultates, quas Officium Poenitentiariae Nostrae apostolicae Missionariis, in locis Missionum earumque occasione exercendas, concesserit:

IV. Item facultates Episcoporum aliorumque sacrorum Antistitum circa dispensationes et absolutiones suorum subditorum in casibus occultis etiam Sedi apostolicae reservatis, quemadmodum ipsis a sacra Tridentina Synodo, seu alias, etiam in publicis casibus, a iure communi ecclesiastico et ab apostolica Sede pro certis personis et casibus permissae dignoscuntur. Idem statuimus de facultatibus Antistitum Ordinum religiosorum, quaecumque ipsis in Regulares sibi subiectos ab apostolica Sede tributae sint.

Iis exceptis, de quibus supra memoravimus, ceteras omnes et singulas Indulgentias tam plenarias, etiam ad instar Iubilaei concessas, quam non plenarias, suspendimus ac nullas iubemus esse. Similique ratione facultates et indulta absolvendi etiam a casibus Nobis et apostolicae Sedi reservatis, relaxandi censuras, commutandi

vota, dispensandi etiam super irregularitatibus et impedimentis cui libet quoquo modo concessa, suspendimus ac nulli suffragari volumus ac decernimus. Quocirca praesentium auctoritate Litterarum praeципimus ac mandamus, ut, praeter Indulgentias Iubilaei, easque, quas supra nominatim excepimus, nullae praeterea aliae uspiam, subpoena excommunicationis eo ipso incurrendae aliisque poenis arbitrio Ordinariorum infligendis, publicentur, indicantur, vel in usum demandentur.

Quaecumque autem his Litteris decreta continentur, omnia ea stabilia, rata, valida esse volumus et iubemus, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Earum vero exemplis aut transumptis, etiam impressis, Notarii publici manu et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis, eamdem volumus haberi fidem, quae haberetur praesentibus si essent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Nulli ergo hominum liceat hanc paginam Nostrae suspensionis, decreti, declarationis, voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contra ire: si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli se novet incursum.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum anno Incarnationis Domini millesimo octingentesimo nonagesimo nono Pridie Cal. Octobris, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo secundo.

C. Card. ALOISI MASELLA, Pro-Dat.

A. Card. MACCHI.

Visa de Curia: I. DE AQUILA E VICECOMITIBUS.

Loco † Plumbi.

Reg. in Secret. Brevium: I. CUGNONIUS.

II.

Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Leonis divina providentia Papa XIII. Constitutio qua indulgentiae Iubilaei anni MDCCCC conceduntur monialibus, oblatis, tertiaris aliisque sive puellis sive mulieribus in monasteriis piisve communitatibus degentibus, eremitis, infirmis, carcere aut captivitate detentis, cum opportunitis facultatibus circa absolutiones et votorum commutationes.

LEO EPISCOPUS

SERVUS SERVORUM DEI

Ad futuram rei memoriam.

Aeterni Pastoris infinitam caritatem animo reputantes, qui *proprias oves vocat nominatim*,¹ ut vitam habeant et abundantius habeant,²

quiique ipsarum adventum ad sui gremium non modo expectat, sed ipse saepe praeverit, consilium agitavimus de Apostolicae liberalitatis thesauro recludendo in proximum annum Iubilaei iis etiam, quibus sua conditio non sinit ut praescriptam peregrinationem ad almam hanc Urbem et ad beatorum Apostolorum limina susciant. Placuit igitur fructu vacuam non redire multorum fidem ac pietatem, qui huiusmodi iter summo cum studio essent aggressuri, nisi eos aut septa monasterii, aut ineluctabilis captivitas, aut corporis infirmitas impediret. Quae quidem relaxatio atque benignitas non istorum tantum necessitati aut utilitati prospiciet, sed in communem omnium salutem redundabit. Coniunctis enim tot hominum precibus et lacrimis, quos vel vitae innocentia et religionis ardor, vel poenitentia, vel calamitas segregavit a ceteris, divinae misericordiae placandae spem licebit multo validiorem fovere. Quamobrem vi praesentium litterarum oportunas rationes describere decrevimus, quibus quum viri tum mulieres in eremis, monasteriis et religiosis domibus assidue vitam degentes, vel custodiis et carceribus detenti, vel morbis aut infirmitatibus impediti quominus veneranda Apostolorum sepulcra et Patriarchales Urbis Basilicas adeant, permissarum absolutionum concessione plenarii Iubilaei fieri particeps valeant.

Qui autem sub hac providentia comprehenduntur, hi sunt:

I. Moniales omnes, quotquot solemnia vota religionis ediderunt et in monasteriis degunt sub claustrorum perpetui disciplina; item quae tyrocinium exercent, quaeve in monasteriis, aut educationis aut alia de causa legitima, commorantur. Pariter Monasteriorum huiusmodi Moniales, quae stipis colligendae gratia septa religiosa egrediuntur:

II. Oblatae, vitae societate coniunctae, quarum Instituta fuerint ab Apostolica Sede vel ratione stabi, vel ad experimentum probata, una cum suis novitiis atque educandis puellis aliisque communi cum ipsis contubernio utentibus, quamquam severiori claustrorum lege non adstringantur.

III. Tertiariae sub uno eodemque tecto communiter viventes cum suis pariter novitiis atque educandis puellis, aliisque cum ipsis una degentibus, etsi severiore claustrorum lege minime teneantur, earumque Institutum nec unquam ad hunc diem ab Apostolica Sede approbatum fuerit, nec ut approbatum in posterum haberi debeat vi praesentis concessionis:

IV. Puellae ac mulieres in gynaecie seu Conservatoriis degentes, quamvis nec Moniales, nec Oblatae, nec Tertiariae, nullisque claustrorum legibus obnoxiae sint. Has omnes, quas diximus, tam in Urbe quam extra, ubique locorum et gentium degentes, praesentis concessionis gratia et privilegio frui posse decernimus ac declaramus.

V. Idem concedimus Anachoretis atque Eremitis, non quidem eis qui nullis clausurae legibus adstricti vel in collegio et societate, vel solitarii sub Ordinariorum regimine certisque legibus aut regulis obtemperantes vivunt: sed eis qui in continua licet non omnimode perpetua clausura et solitudine deditam contemplationi vitam agunt, etiamsi monasticum aut regularem Ordinem profiteantur, ut Cistercienses aliquot, Chartusienses, Monachi et Eremitae sancti Romualdi solent.

VI. Ad utriusque sexus Christifideles eamdem concessionis gratiam extendimus, qui captivi in hostium potestatem versantur, ad eosque ubique locorum, qui ex civilibus aut criminalibus causis in carcere detinentur; item qui exilio poenam aut deportationis luunt; qui in triremibus aut alibi ad opus damnati reperiuntur; denique ad religiosos viros qui suis in coenobiis sub custodia retinentur vel qui ex rectorum praecepto certam habent sedem, quasi exilio aut deportationis loco assignatam.

VII. Eamdem concessionem communem esse pariter volumus utriusque sexus infirmis cuiusvis ordinis et conditionis, vel qui iam extra Urbem in morbum aliquem inciderint, cuius causa, intra Iubilaei annum, Urbem adire, medici iudicio, non possint, vel qui, licet convaluerint, non sine tamen gravi incommodo romanum iter aggredi possint, vel qui omnino dare se in iter imbecilla ex habitu valedidine prohibeantur. Horum denique numero senes haberi volumus, qui septuagesimum aetatis suae annum excesserint.

Itaque istos omnes et singulos monemus, hortamur et obsecramus in Domino, ut peccata sua *in amaritudine animae* recolentes eademque intimo animi sensu detestantes, saluberrimo Poenitentiae sacramento et congruis satisfactionibus suam quisque conscientiam expiare current; tum ad caeleste Convivium ea, qua par est, fide, reverentia, caritate, accedant, Deumque optimum maximum, per Unigenitum Filium eius ac per merita augustissimae Virginis Mariae et beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli omniumque Sanctorum, iuxta Nostram Ecclesiaeque mentem enixis precibus orent pro sanctae Ecclesiae prosperitate atque incremento, pro extirpandis erroribus, pro catholicorum principum concordia, totiusque christiani populi tranquillitate et salute; in eumque finem visitationi quatuor Urbis Basilicarum, alia religionis, pietatis, caritatis opera devote sufficient, quum voluntaria, tum praesertim a delectis sacri ordinis viris auctoritate Nostra iniungenda, prout infra edicitur.

Scilicet volumus ac iubemus ut venerabiles fratres Episcopi aliique locorum Ordinarii Monialibus, Oblatis, Tertiariis, aliisque superius memoratis sive puellis, sive mulieribus, Anachoretis, Eremitis, in

carcere detentis, aegrotantibus et septuagenario maioribus, statuant ac praescribant sive per se, sive per prudentes Confessarios, congrua religionis ac pietatis opera iuxta singulorum statum, conditionem et valetudinem ac loci et temporis rationes: quorum perfunctionem operum pro visitatione quatuor Urbis Basilicarum valere volumus ac decernimus. Eamdem commutandorum operum facultatem concedimus Praelatis Regularibus, videlicet utendam erga Instituta et personas singulas quae in ipsorum iurisdictione sint.—Eodem genere personis quae in Urbe degant, designari opera sufficienda volumus per dilectum Filium Nostrum S. R. E. Cardinalem Vicarium eiusque vices gerentem, sive per se ipsos sive per prudentes Confessarios.

Itaque Omnipotentis Dei misericordia et Beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi, iis omnibus et singulis, quos supra memoravimus, vere poenitentibus et intra praesentem Iubilaei annum rite confessis ac sacra Communione refectis, Deumque, ut supra dictum est, orantibus, omnia denique implentibus alia iniungenda opera in locum visitationum, ac, vel inchoatis tantum iisdem operibus, si morbus periculosus oppresserit, plenissimam omnium peccatorum indulgentiam, veniam et remissionem, etiam dupli vice intra anni sancti decursum si iniuncta opera iteraverint, haud secus ac si praescripta communiter ceteris omnibus expleverint, de Apostolicae liberalitatis amplitudine largimur atque concedimus.

Monialibus earumque novitiis licere volumus, at prima dumtaxat vice, sumere sibi ex alterutro Cleri ordine Confessarios, qui tamen sint ad audiendas Monialium confessiones rite approbati. Anachoretis atque Eremitis supra dictis, itemque Oblatis, Tertiariis, puellis ac mulieribus in monasteriis piisque domibus vitam communem agentibus, quibus forte ordinario tempore eligendi sibi Confessarii libera facultas non sit, similiterque Christifidelibus captivitate, carcere aut custodia, infirmitate aut senectute impeditis, fas esse iubemus eligere sibi prima vice dumtaxat Confessarios quoscumque, dummodo ad confessiones personarum saecularium probati rite sint. Idem eisdem conditionibus liceat viris religiosis ex quolibet Ordine aut Congregatione vel Instituto.—Confessariis sic electis concedimus et tribuimus ut personas supra dictas, auditis earum confessionibus, absolvere possint a quibusvis peccatis, etiam apostolicae Sedi speciali forma reservatis, excepto casu haeresis formalis et externae, imposta poenitentia salutari aliisque iuxta canonicas sanctiones rectaeque disciplinae regulas iniungendis. Praeterea confessariis, quos moniales sibi elegerint, facultatem facimus dispensandi super vota quaelibet ab ipsis post solemnem professionem facta, quae regulari observantiae minime adversentur.

Simili modo Confessarios supra memoratos etiam dispensando commutare posse volumus omnia vota, quibus Oblatae Novitiae, Tertiariae, puellae et mulieres in communibus domibus agentes sese obstrinxerint, exceptis iis, quae Nobis et apostolicae Sedi reservata sint: factaque commutatione, a votorum etiam iuratorum observantia absolvere.

Hortamur autem Venerabiles Fratres Episcopos aliosque locorum Ordinarios, ut, Apostolicae Nostrae benignitatis exemplo, eligendis ad praesentium effectum Confessariis impertiri ne recusent facultatem absolvendi a casibus qui ipsis Ordinariis reservati sint.

Volumus denique ut praesentium transumptis sive exemplis, etiam impressis, manu alicuius notarii publici et sigillo viri in sacri ordinis dignitate constituti munitis, eadem ab omnibus adiungatur fides, quae ipsis praesentibus adhiberetur, si exhibitae forent vel ostensae. Ceterum harum decreta et iussa Litterarum rata, valida, firma in omnes partes esse et fore decernimus, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat paginam hanc Nostrae declarationis, hortationis, concessionis, derogationis, decreti et voluntatis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire; si quis autem hoc attentre praesumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius se noverit incursum.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo octingentesimo nonagesimo nono Calend. Novembris, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo secundo.

C. Card. ALOISI MASELLA, *Pro-Dat.*

A. Card. MACCHI..

Loco † Plumbi.

Visa de Curia: I. DE AQUILA E VICECOMITIBUS.

Reg. in Secret. Brevium: I. CUGNONIUS.

SUSPENSION OF INDULGENCES AND FACULTIES
DURING THE YEAR OF UNIVERSAL JUBILEE 1900.

I.

LEO, BISHOP

SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD

For Perpetual Remembrance.

THE custom sanctioned by the authority of the Supreme Pontiffs, namely, that the solemnities of the Holy Year should be accomplished chiefly at Rome, is indeed appropriate in the highest degree to the divinely appointed dignity, and to the larger gifts of the Beloved City. For this is the common country of all Christians, whoever and wherever they may be; it is the chief seat of Sacred Power, and the everlasting guardian of the doctrine handed down by God; and from here, as from the sole and most venerable source, life is transmitted perennially through all the veins of the Christian Republic. It is, therefore, highly proper, that at the call of the Apostolic See, Catholics should gather here at certain intervals, in order that at one and the same time they may find in the City remedies suitable for the purification of their souls, and, by their presence, acknowledge the authority of Rome. So salutary and profitable does this seem, that We earnestly desire to behold multitudes thronging Rome during the entire coming year; and, to offer additional incentives to those wishing to make the pilgrimage to Rome, We will that the privileges which are freely granted by the indulgent liberality of the Church, for the expiation of sins committed, be suspended; that is to say, as has been the custom of Our Predecessors in similar cases, by Our Apostolic Authority We suspend the usual Indulgences during the entire Holy Year; with, however, the prudent modification and qualification hereinafter described:

We will and decree that there shall remain intact and unchanged:

I. Indulgences granted *in articulo mortis*:

II. The Indulgences which, by the authority of Our Predecessor, Benedict XIII., those may gain, who, at the sound of the church bell, shall recite, either while standing or kneeling, the Angelic Salutation, or other prayer proper to the season:

III. The Indulgences of ten years and ten quarantines granted

in 1876 by the authority of Pius IX., to those who piously visit churches in which the Blessed Sacrament is exposed for adoration during the Forty Hours:

IV. The Indulgences granted by the decree of Our Predecessors, Innocent XI. and Innocent XII., to those who accompany the Blessed Sacrament when It is carried to the sick; or, who send a candle or a torch to be borne by others on such occasions:

V. The Indulgence heretofore granted to those who through piety visit the Church of St. Mary of the Angels, of the order of the Friars Minor, outside the walls of Assisi, from Vespers on the first of August to the setting of the sun on the following day:

VI. Indulgences which Cardinal Legates *a latere* of the Holy Roman Church, Nuncios of the Apostolic See, Bishops in Pontifical functions, or, when giving their blessing, or in any other accustomed form, are wont to bestow:

VII. The Indulgences of privileged Altars for the faithful departed, and others granted in the same manner for the deceased alone; and, also, whatsoever Indulgences may have been granted for the living, but with the express proviso that these shall be applied directly by way of suffrage to the dead. We will that all and each of these shall not avail the living, but the dead.

We ordain and decree the following regulations concerning faculties:

I. The faculty is ratified and continued by which Bishops and other Ordinaries of places grant the Indulgences *in articulo mortis*, and communicate the same faculty according to the letter given by our predecessor, Benedict XIV., 5th of April, 1747:

II. The faculties of the Tribunal of the Office of the Inquisition against heretical perverseness, and the faculties of its officials are ratified and continued; likewise, the faculties of Missionaries and Ministers who shall have been deputed, either by this Tribunal, or by the Congregation of Cardinals entrusted with the work of the Propagation of the Faith, or who shall have been otherwise deputed by the Apostolic See; especially the faculty of absolving from heresy those who have foresworn their error, and have returned to the Faith:

III. The faculties are ratified and continued, which the Office of Our Apostolic Penitentiary has conceded to Missionaries, to be used in and for the benefit of their respective Missions:

IV. Likewise the Faculties of Bishops and other Sacred Prelates in the matter of dispensing and absolving their subjects in secret cases, even in those reserved to the Apostolic See, in the manner provided for by the Holy Council of Trent, or otherwise, even in

public cases, by the common Ecclesiastical Law, and by the Apostolic See for certain persons and cases. We decree the same with regard to such faculties of Prelates of Religious Orders as may have been granted them by the Apostolic See for the regulars subject to them.

With the exceptions mentioned above, We suspend and We order to be considered as null, all other Indulgences both Plenary, even those granted in the form of Jubilee, as well as Partial Indulgences. And, in like manner, We suspend, and We will and decree to be absolutely inoperative, all faculties and indults of absolving, even in cases reserved to Us and to the Apostolic See, of relaxing censures, of commuting vows, of dispensing in any irregularities and impediments, to whomsoever or in whatsoever manner these faculties and indults may have been granted. Wherefore, by the authority of the present Letters We direct and command that, excepting the Indulgences of the Jubilee, and those which we have especially named above, no others in any place whatsoever be published, proclaimed, or practised, under pain of excommunication to be incurred by the very fact, and under such other penalties as may be inflicted by the judgment of the Ordinaries.

We will and order that all the Decrees contained in these Letters be held as established, ratified and valid, all to the contrary notwithstanding.

We will that the same authority be attributed to copies of these Letters, even if printed, provided they be signed by the hand of a Notary, and confirmed by the seal of some one in Ecclesiastical dignity, as would be possessed by these presents if exhibited.

No man, therefore, may infringe or temerariously venture to contravene this document of Our suspension, decree, declaration, will. If any one shall so presume, let him know that he will incur the wrath of Almighty God, and of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul.

Given at St. Peter's in Rome in the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine, on the 30th day of September, in the twenty-second year of our Pontificate.

C. Card. ALOYSIUS MASELLA, *Pro-Datary.*

A. Card. MACCHI.

Visa de Curia: J. DE AQUILA VISCONTI.

Registered in the Secretariate of Briefs: I. CUGNONI.

II.

OUR MOST HOLY FATHER

LEO XIII.

BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE

POPE.

Constitution in which the Indulgences of the Jubilee Year 1900 are granted to Nuns, Oblates, Tertiaries and others, whether girls or women, dwelling in Monasteries or Pious Communities, to Hermits, to the sick, to those detained in prisons or captivity, with suitable Faculties for Absolution and Commutation of Vows.

LEO, BISHOP

SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD

For Future Remembrance.

Recalling to mind the infinite charity of the eternal Shepherd, who *calls his own sheep by name* (John x., 3), so that they may have life, and have it more abundantly (Ibid., 10), and Who not only waits their coming to His bosom, but often Himself anticipates it, We have resolved to open the treasury of Apostolic liberality in the coming year of Jubilee, even to those whose condition does not allow them to undertake the prescribed pilgrimage to this Beloved City and *ad limina Apostolorum*. It has pleased Us, therefore, to avoid rendering fruitless the faith and piety of many who would with the greatest eagerness undertake a journey of this kind unless prevented either by monastic walls or unavoidable captivity, or bodily infirmity. This benevolent relaxation will provide serviceably not only for their need, but will redound to the common weal. For the combined prayers and tears of so many whom innocence of life and religious fervor, or penance, or misfortune, has set apart from others encourages Us to cherish a much stronger hope of appeasing the Divine mercy. Wherefore, by virtue of the present Letters We have decreed to make known the appropriate manner in which both men and women who live in hermitages, monasteries and religious houses, or who are detained in barracks or in prisons, or who are prevented by disease or infirmities, from visiting the venerated tombs of the Apostles and the Patriarchal Basilicas of this City, can

become sharers in the absolutions offered to them in the Plenary Jubilee.

Those who are thus provided for are:

I. All Nuns who have made solemn vows of Religion, and who live in convents under the discipline of perpetual enclosure; as well as those who are making their novitiate, or who for purposes of education or for some other lawful cause dwell in such convents. Likewise Nuns of such Conventual Institutions who leave the precincts of their convents for the purpose of collecting alms:

II. Female Oblates living in common, whose Institutes have been approved by the Apostolic See, either permanently or temporarily, together with their novices, the children who are being educated by them, and others living under their roof, although they are not bound by the law of strict enclosure:

III. Female Tertiaries living in common under the same roof, likewise with their novices, the children they are educating, and others dwelling with them, even though they are bound by no law of enclosure, and even though their Institute has not as yet been approved by the Apostolic See, and should not be held in future as approved by reason of the present concession:

IV. Girls and women in Institutions, or dwelling in seminaries, although neither Nuns or Oblates or Tertiaries, nor in any way bound by the law of enclosure. We declare and decree that all these thus far mentioned, whether in the City or out of it, no matter where they live, or of what race they are, can enjoy the favor and privilege of the present concession:

V. We grant the same to Anchorites and Hermits, not indeed to those who, bound by no laws of enclosure, live either in community or solitary under the government of their Ordinaries, obeying certain laws or rules: but to those who lead contemplative lives in continuous, although not in all respects, perpetual enclosure and solitude, even though they profess a monastic or regular Order, as many Cistercians, Carthusians, Monks, and Hermits of St. Romuald are wont to do:

VI. We extend the same favor to the faithful of both sexes, who are held captive in the power of their enemies, and to those who in any part of the world are imprisoned either in civil or criminal cases; or who are undergoing the punishment of exile or deportation; who are condemned to hard labor in the galleys or elsewhere; finally, to male religious who are under restraint in their own monasteries, or who by the command of their Superiors have a fixed location assigned to them in lieu of exile or deportation:

VII. We likewise will that the same concession be granted to

the sick of both sexes, of whatever rank or condition, who either outside the City shall have already contracted a disease which, in the opinion of their physician, prevents them from undertaking the journey to the City within the year of Jubilee, or who, although convalescent, cannot undergo the fatigue of the journey to Rome without serious inconvenience, or who are prevented by habitual ill health from attempting the voyage. We will that those who have passed their seventieth year shall be considered in the same category.

Therefore, we admonish, exhort, and beseech in the Lord, each and all of these, that recalling their sins in the bitterness of their soul, and detesting them from the bottom of their heart, they may be careful to purify their conscience by the saving Sacrament of Penance, and by condign satisfaction; and approach, with all due faith, reverence and charity the Heavenly Banquet, and pray earnestly to the Most High God, through His Only Begotten Son, and the merits of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary, and of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul and of all the Saints, for Our intention and the intention of the Church, for the prosperity and spread of Holy Church, for the extirpation of all error, for concord among Catholic Rulers, and for the tranquillity and prosperity of the whole Christian people; and, to that end, devoutly substitute for the visitation of the four Basilicas of the City other voluntary works of religion, piety and charity, and especially such as are enjoined by Our authority by ecclesiastics delegated as hereinafter announced.

We will and order, namely, that our Venerable Brethren, the Bishops, and other Ordinaries of places designate and prescribe, either by themselves or through prudent Confessors, suitable works of religion and piety, according to the state, condition and health of each, and the circumstances of time and place, for Nuns, Oblates, Tertiaries and others mentioned above, whether girls or women, Anchorites, Hermits, Prisoners, the sick and septuagenarians: the performance of such works We will and decree to be equivalent to the visitation of the four Basilicas of the City.

We grant to Prelates regular the same faculty of commuting the prescribed good works in favor of their Institutes, and for the individuals who are under their jurisdiction.—We will that suitable works be designated for persons of this character who live in the City, by Our Beloved Son, the Cardinal Vicar and his vicegerents, either by themselves or by prudent Confessors.

Therefore, confiding in the mercy of Almighty God, and the authority of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, to each and every one of those whom We have named above, who being truly peni-

tent, and within the present year of Jubilee, having duly confessed their sins, and been refreshed by Holy Communion, shall have prayed to God as above directed, and finally fulfilled all the other works enjoined in lieu of the visits, etc., and to those who may have fallen dangerously ill after having begun these same works, in the fulness of Apostolic liberality We bestow and grant a most Plenary Indulgence, pardon and remission of all their sins, even for a second time within the course of the Holy Year, if they shall have repeated the works enjoined, just as though they had complied with the conditions generally prescribed for all others.

We will that Nuns and Novices be permitted, but only once, to choose for themselves Confessors from either branch of the Clergy, provided, that these shall have been duly approved for hearing the Confessions of Nuns. We command that it be lawful for Anchorites and Hermits as above mentioned, likewise for Oblates, Tertiaries, girls and women living in community, in convents and in pious houses, who, ordinarily are not free to choose their own Confessors, and likewise to the faithful in captivity, in prison, or under restraint, impeded by infirmity or old age, to choose for themselves, but once only, any Confessor they please, provided that such Confessors shall have been duly approved for hearing the confessions of seculars. Under the same conditions, the same privilege is granted to male religious of whatsoever Order or Congregation or Institute. To the Confessors thus selected, We grant and give faculties to absolve the persons above mentioned, after hearing their Confessions, from any sins whatsoever, even from those reserved to the Apostolic See by especial form, except the case of formal and external heresy, a salutary penance being imposed, and others being enjoined according to the canonical sanctions and the rule of right discipline. Moreover, We give the Confessors whom nuns shall have chosen the faculty of dispensing from whatsoever vows these latter shall have made after their solemn profession, and which may not be opposed to the regular observance. In like manner, We will that Confessors above mentioned can commute, even by dispensing, all vows by which Oblates, Novices, Tertiaries, girls and women, dwelling in communities shall have bound themselves, excepting those which are reserved to Us and the Apostolic See: and, having made proper Commutation, they can absolve from the observance even of vows confirmed by oath.

We exhort Our Venerable Brethren, the Bishops and other Ordinaries of places, after the example of Our Apostolic benevolence not to refuse to give the Confessors chosen to carry into effect the present Letters, the faculty of absolving from cases which may be reserved by the Ordinaries themselves.

Finally, We will that the same authority be attributed to translations, or copies of the present Letters, even printed, provided they be signed by the hand of Notary, and confirmed by the seal of some one in ecclesiastical dignity, as would be possessed by these presents if exhibited. And We ordain that the decrees and orders of these Letters are, and shall be held as ratified valid, continued in full force in all their parts. All to the contrary notwithstanding.

No man, therefore, may infringe or temerariously venture to contravene this document of Our Declaration, Exhortation, Concession, Derogation, Decree and Will: if any one shall so presume let him know that he will incur the wrath of Almighty God and of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul.

Given at St. Peter's, in Rome, in the year of Our Lord, eighteen hundred and ninety-nine, on the 24th day of October, in the 22d year of Our Pontificate.

C. Card. ALOYSIUS MASELLA, *Pro-Datary.*

A. Card. MACCHI.

Visa de Curia: J. DE AQUILA VISCONTI.

Registered in the Secretariate of Briefs: I. CUGNONI.

Cathedral Library Association.

Scientific Chronicle.

A CURE FOR LEPROSY.

It is said, on what appears to be good authority, that a cure for leprosy has been really found. The matter is deemed of sufficient importance to engage the attention of the Government. A plant that grows in Venezuela is the agency which is said to possess the healing attribute. Surgeon General Wyman at Honolulu has had several specimens of the plant forwarded to him, and these are now growing under the observation of Dr. Carmichael, of the United States Marine Hospital. The authorities at Washington have requested him to watch the growth of the plants and make experiments with them. There is no description of them as yet—no name, botanical or vulgar, indeed; but it is claimed for the shrub that it has been found a cure in numerous cases. About a year ago it was stated that a priest had discovered a plant in some of the Pacific isles for which similar powers were claimed, but since the announcement was made no further particulars of any kind have been given to the world. We are left to conjecture whether the new claimant is the same as the previous one or not. The probability is that it is a different plant, since there is a cardinal difference in most cases between the flora of the South American region and that of the Melanasian islands, particularly in regard to essential characteristics.

THE UNPUNCTUAL NOVEMBER METEORS.

Great disappointment has been felt over the non-appearance of the Leonids last month, and still more at the failure of the astronomers to account for the failure of the celestial shoal to arrive on time. The assumption underlying this feeling is, of course, that the Leonids are an actually existent swarm of stellar material, not lia-

ble to extinction, absorption or organic change. This assumption may be entirely erroneous. The starry heavens tell of nothing more eloquently than of vast cataclysmal changes in the structure and composition of the matter of the universe. Who can tell whether the Leonids may not have been absorbed into the mass of some huge planet far beyond the range of our best telescopes? So far from this year being an *annus mirabilis*, from an astronomical standpoint, it was far inferior to the usual run in the matter of winter meteoric displays. Ordinarily November brings a considerable addition to the bedizement of our nocturnal skies, but this particular November happened to be utterly insignificant in that respect. Among the various theories put forward to explain the disappointment one by Professor Pickering, of Harvard, appears to be the most plausible. His thesis is that the time has been wrongly computed, and that the shower is not due this year, but two years later, in 1901, and possibly three years later, in 1902! To reach this conclusion Professor Pickering went back to the year 902, when the first shower of Leonids of which there are preserved records took place. Every thirty-three and one-quarter years the shower reoccurred until 1602; that is, counting only by centuries, there were showers in 902, 1002, 1101, 1202, 1302, 1402, 1502 and 1602, and then there appears to have been a change in the orbit of the swarm, for instead of reappearing about one hundred years later, it reappeared ninety-six years later, in 1698, and since then the shower of Leonids has taken place not every thirty-three years, as is generally supposed, but every thirty-four years. There was a shower in 1833, and then the statement has been repeated many times of late that the next was in 1866. Professor Pickering admits that this may have been true in England, but it certainly is not a correct statement for America. There was a shower visible in 1866 in America, but it was not to be compared to the shower of one year later, 1867, when it may have been cloudy in England and therefore unnoted. And since that change in the orbit of the swarm in the seventeenth century it has appeared at intervals of thirty-four years. The error that astronomers all over the world have made lies in the fact that they computed from the early records without consulting carefully all the statistics of the centuries as Professor Pickering has just done. According to his calculation, then, the shower should arrive in 1901.

One fact seems to have been pretty generally overlooked in all the scientific explanations that we have seen. Those who remember the magnificent swarm of 1867 may recall the fact that the more brilliant ones usually burst like sky rockets. The cause of this was

said to be their contact with the earth's atmosphere. Why may not have our planet overtaken the Leonids and passed them by at a comparatively short distance, supposing them to be still in existence? The failure to strike our atmospherical envelope might account for their invisibility. If they be subject to variations in their orbit, as Professor Pickering tells us, there is no good reason why our failure to see them last November may not be attributed to another change like that in the interval from 1602 to 1698.

CANCER AND VACCINATION.

The alarming hypothesis has been broached that the great increase in that frightful malady cancer is due to the practice of vaccination. The theory was put forward by Dr. W. B. Clarke, of Indianapolis, in a paper read a short time ago before the State Society of Homœopathic Physicians. Commencing with the fact that cancer is a disease characterized by rapid growth of abnormal cell-structure, he said: "It takes twenty-one years or more to make a man, and but three or four to make a cow. As cancer is a disease characterized by the rapid imposition of cells, I ask you is it safe to put the rapid-growing cells or protoplasm of a diseased animal into the slow-growing cells of man, as is done in vaccination?" Dr. Clarke believes that we are reaping the harvest of the seed so generally introduced forty to fifty years ago, and that deaths from cancer are more numerous in England and Prussia, simply because the pernicious practice (of vaccination for smallpox) was generally introduced so much earlier there.

This is something for the out-and-out vaccinationists to ponder over. Dr. Clark's inferences seem to be borne out to some extent by Dr. Lambert Lack, a London physician, who has for a considerable time been investigating the reason for the abnormal ratio of increase in cancer cases. He gave his views and basic reasons to the *Lancet* a short time ago. He had long believed that the epithelial cells of cancer were themselves the sole infective agents; that this cancer epithelium was practically normal epithelium, only out of place, and that from the very commencement of the cancer it was growing in the lymph spaces. "I thought from this," he goes on, "that if the normal epithelium by some accidental means should obtain entrance into the lymph spaces it would find no barrier to its continued growth and would produce all the phenomena of cancer. At present I have performed but a single

experiment to test this view. I obtained an emulsion of the epithelial cells from the healthy ovary of a healthy rabbit and placed them in the animal's peritoneum. The animal died fourteen months afterward, and on examination masses of growth were found in the abdominal and thoracic cavities having the characteristic features of typical ovarian cancer."

Dr. Lack undertook to furnish the results obtained from further experiments in this direction, and until this information is forthcoming it would be rash to predicate acceptance of these somewhat startling statements about inoculation from animals.

A CETACIAN CURE FOR RHEUMATISM.

According to the *British Australian*, several persons suffering from rheumatism have arrived at the Kiah whaling station, in the Eden district, New South Wales, for the purpose of undergoing the whale-bath cure. The treatment requires the patient, divested of his clothing, frequently to remain for a long time in the interior of a dead whale. Some remarkable cures are said to have been effected by the treatment. This feat recalls a somewhat similar one which gained for a distinguished Dublin surgeon a knighthood. He treated a Lord Lieutenant for a cutaneous disease, and the method he adopted was to get him into the interior of a cow freshly killed and still warm. It was heroic, but, as the story goes, perfectly successful, and the grateful viceroy, beside a munificent fee, bestowed on the surgeon the knightly accolade. In old medicine such remedies were frequently resorted to; and many more of a still more repulsive character. The pendulum of therapeutics seems to be swinging back to the ancient ideas, and perhaps in due time we may witness the reintroduction of astrology as one of the subjects to be taken in the preparatory medical course.

A NAVIGABLE AIR-SHIP AT LAST.

It seems to be beyond all doubt that the dream of the aéronauts, a balloon or air-ship that can be steered like a marine vessel and driven even against the wind as a steamer, is at last realized. To France, the natal place of the air balloon, belongs the palm of success in this marvelous undertaking. The inventor is M. de Santos Dumont. His balloon is twenty metres in height and $7\frac{1}{2}$ metres

in diameter. It is inflated with five hundred cubic metres of gas. In this machine M. Dumont has made several ascents with complete success. He has circled in it about the Eiffel Tower, guiding it around the structure in an upward spiral movement and coming down with the greatest ease whenever he desired. The whole weight of the balloon, basket and steering apparatus is barely seventy-five kilos. The propellers and engines are of aluminum. The motor, the inventor says, is a modification of the De Dion type, and has double the power of an ordinary one, being provided with two cylinders, one over the other, and two pistons united by a bar passing through the top of the lower cylinder. The engine which gives motion to the propeller was invented by M. Dumont, but for a very different purpose. He used it first in an automobile race in Paris last year, and after that he bethought him of applying it to the propulsion of a balloon. All the scientists to whom he broached the subject shook their heads when they heard the suggestion of fire as an agency in connection with a balloon, but M. Dumont went ahead and carried out his idea. Although very satisfactory results so far has attended the experiments, he desiderates still better ones, and hopes to attain these by alterations in the propeller and the basket and getting a more powerful motor. The steering apparatus he finds so satisfactory that he intends to leave it as it is. Next year, when the weather clears, he intends making ascents along the shores of the Mediterranean, beginning at Nice or Monte Carlo. It is to be noted that Mr. Maxim, the famous inventor, was very sanguine of being the first to perfect a navigable balloon. He had done wonders in reducing the weight of the motor in the air-ship. In the first rude essays at human flight the only available source of power was that of the human muscle, which meant at least a thousand pounds per horse-power, if continued for any considerable time. Giffard's steam-engine and boiler taken together weighed, according to his own report of September, 1852, one hundred and ten pounds per horse-power. Some years later Mr. Stringfellow constructed a small model which is said to have weighed only thirteen pounds per horse-power. While both scientific and unscientific writers were debating the possibility of ever constructing a large motor of like efficiency, Mr. Maxim went resolutely to work and at one step reduced the weight to less than ten pounds per horse-power. Mr. Maxim expressed the belief further that a useful working steam-engine and boiler could be constructed to weigh but five pounds per horse-power! "I am of the opinion," he said, "that with a generator and engine especially constructed for lightness a naphtha motor could be constructed which would develop one hundred actual horse-

power and not weigh more than five hundred pounds including the condenser, and still have a factor of safety quite as large as we find in locomotive practice." It will be seen that even these sanguine predictions have been surpassed by M. Dumont's actual achievements. So, too, with regard to the question of speed, M. Dumont calculates on being able to obtain, with his improved machinery, a velocity of sixty miles an hour in his aerial flights. This is beyond the wildest dreams of the previous experimentalists. One of the most eminent of these, Mr. Giffard, after the success of his first experiments, prepared the plans of a mammoth vessel which was to be propelled at a speed of forty-four miles an hour even with the engines he could then command. So confident was he, indeed, that he obtained a patent for and meant to venture the expense of constructing a balloon nearly two thousand feet long—a work he would undoubtedly have attempted had not blindness overtaken and prevented him. The Tissandier brothers, who for many years labored arduously in the cause of aéronautics, became convinced that it was only necessary to increase the size of the balloon to insure its success. But M. Dumont's remarkable results show that these eminent scientists had been looking for success along a mistaken plane. His balloon is comparatively small, and the great speed he believes he can attain is the result of the application of more efficient methods in the machinery of propulsion.

NON-ALCOHOLIC ANTIDOTES FOR SNAKE BITE.

So much has been published regarding the virtues of alcohol as an antidote for various kinds of poisoning, animal and mineral, that it is pleasing to hear of efforts made to discover remedies of a different character. The homœopathic principle is taken by some experimentalists as a basis in these investigations. Recently there appeared statements respecting an interesting series of experiments carried on by Professor F. R. Fraser, F. R. S., to establish the truth of a theory that the bile of certain animals will act as an antidote to the venom of serpents and against the toxin of such diseases as diphtheria and tetanus. The bile of noxious serpents is found to be a powerful antidote against the venom of serpents, and in the efficiency of its action is closely followed by the bile of innocuous serpents. Carrying the research still further, Professor Fraser found that the bile of animals without venom-producing glands—such as man, the ox, pig and rabbit—was definitely antidotal, but less so than that of serpents. In his experiments on the

toxins of the disease it was found by Professor Fraser that the venomous serpents furnished bile that had much stronger antidotal action than that of the nonvenomous serpents, while among the non-venomous animals the bile of the rabbit was found to be efficacious not only against the toxins, but also the venoms.

SOME FALLACIES ABOUT READING DISTANCE.

The majority of readers labor under the belief that ease and comfort in this delightful mental exercise are to be best had by holding the book or newspaper which yields it quite close. It may be this pernicious habit which is responsible for the great prevalence of short vision among the people of to-day. Dr. Norburne B. Jenkins, who has made this subject a special study, recently laid down, in the *Medical Record*, some useful suggestions, founded upon laws which he had previously outlined. They seem applicable to the average case, though it seems to some that the capabilities of different classes of vision ought to be taken into account. The nearer objects approach the eyes, he finds, the greater will be the necessary muscular effort and the sooner will the muscles refuse to perform their functions; the farther the type is held from the eyes, the less is the requisite muscular effort; hence it is probable that the farthest point at which distinct reading-vision is possible is the proper distance for continuous reading. Probably this point is more than thirty-five centimetres (fourteen inches) distant from the eyes, and is dependent upon the strength of the muscles, habit and the visual acuity.

PROGRESS IN ARTIFICIAL DIAMOND PRODUCTION.

The distinguished inventor of whom we have spoken in the preceding article, if he has been outdistanced in the race for the prize of the air, has his compensation in other directions. Besides his triumphs in the field of scientific slaughter, he has others more satisfactory to lovers of peaceful science. Amongst these is the artificial production of diamonds. He has devised a process for making a species of carbon which closely, if not completely, resembles diamond, and will be far less expensive than the natural diamond. The substance, when obtained, is used in the manufacture of filaments for high voltage incandescent lamps, which require a carbon

possessing a high resistance and made of a highly refractory material. Acting on the principle that carbon dioxide may be kept in a liquid condition at a pressure of from 500 to 600 pounds to the square inch, but when converted into carbon monoxide requires a much greater pressure to confine, Mr. Maxim places in a strong, tightly closed vessel carbon dioxide in a liquid or solid state and some form of carbon, such as gasoline or other hydrocarbon. Decomposition is then effected by the electric arc, and part of the oxygen of the carbon dioxide unites with the carbon and furnishes carbon monoxide. The pressure thus becomes very high, and the carbon at or near the conductors is converted into a very hard substance in the form of diamond scales. The carbon produced by this process is reduced to a fine powder and then made into filaments in the usual way. The one formidable difficulty which confronted previous experimentalists in this field was to find a material for a jar so fireproof as to be able to withstand the enormous pressure from within generated by the terrific heat required for the process of converting the carbon into the mineral. This difficulty Mr. Maxim appears to have overcome, but by what method we have yet to learn. There is no statement as yet as to the nature of the material which he has found to answer his onerous requirements.

Book Reviews.

SOME RECENT BOOKS FROM THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING CO., CHICAGO:

THE DAWN OF A NEW ERA. By Dr. Paul Carus. Pp. 50.

SCIENCE AND FAITH. By Dr. Paul Topinard. Translated from the French by Thomas J. McCormack. Pp. vi., 361.

HISTORY OF MODERN PHILOSOPHY IN FRANCE. By Lucien Levy-Bruhl. Pp. x., 500.

"All the publications of the Open Court Publishing Company are brought out with a very practical end in view, which is nothing less than the reconstruction of religion upon the broad basis of modern science." This statement is authoritative. It emanates from Dr. Paul Carus, who is probably the head and, as we may judge by his works, the soul of the firm. The statement is found on the thirty-first page of *The Dawn of a New Era*. The "old traditional dogmas will have to be revised and thoroughly remodelled," we are told, and "the basis" on which the revision and remodelling is to be effected is "the doctrine of evolution" which we are informed "is one of the most important fundamental religious truths" (ib.). If any one be curious to know what special need there may be just now for the Open Court to take in hand "the reconstruction of religion," let him learn that "there are two kinds of Christianity. One is love and charity; it wants the truth brought out and desires to see it practically applied in daily life. It is animated by the spirit of Jesus and tends to broaden the minds of men" (p. 5). This kind the Open Court, everybody will be glad to know, will not reconstruct. "The other [kind] is pervaded with exclusiveness and bigotry; it does not aspire through Christ to the truth; but takes Christ as tradition has shaped His life and doctrines, to be the truth itself. It naturally lacks charity, and hinders the spiritual growth of men. It has always been looked upon as orthodox and the only true Christianity. It has been fortified by Bible passages, formulated in Quicunque, indorsed by Ecumenical Councils and by Papal Bulls" (ib.). This kind of Christianity Dr. Carus is persuaded needs "reconstruction." We agree with him. But whilst waiving his equivocal use of the term "kinds of Christianity," might we venture to remind so scientific a writer as Dr. Carus of the first rule for the demonstrative syllogism: *let the disjunctive members be completely enumerated?* We fear, *pace tanti viri*, he has, unwittingly of course, fallen into a sophism. There are three, not two, "kinds of Christianity." The third "kind" includes all the perfection of the first and positively excludes all the monstrosities of

the second. This kind is Christ's Christianity—as gleaned from historical documents, our only present natural means of knowing it. It is of this kind that its Founder said: "He that believeth not shall be condemned." Of it, too, one of Christ's own commissioned ambassadors spoke when he pronounced anathema on any one, "even an angel from heaven," that "should preach any other Gospel." Dr. Carus considers these "harsh terms." Still we read in the first record of primitive Christianity that the very listeners to Christ's doctrine found His "words hard." And yet the Master altered them not one jot or tittle. But Dr. Carus brings another charge against "orthodox Christianity" besides its "exclusiveness, bigotry and uncharitableness," or rather he finds the exclusiveness so excessive that it will not tolerate even Monism. He says: "In order to substantiate the so-called orthodox conception of Christianity, our ecclesiastical instructors have gotten into the habit of telling us again and again that there is no religion save such as is *theistic*, and [Italics ours] that there is no *theism* save such as is a belief in a personal God, and a personal God means a distinct individual being with an ego-consciousness like that found in man, only in an infinitely higher plane—a view which we [Dr. Carus] call anthropotheism" (p. 33). And so the Open Court endeavors to so "reconstruct religion" that it shall include no "belief in a personal God." A less broad-minded thinker than our author might wonder what "kind" of a religion that might be; but the synthetic soul of our author readily takes in the religiosity of Monism. Another element that is to disappear in the reconstructing process is the *paganism* of Church Christianity, for the second kind "is not as yet free from paganism." By paganism the author understands "a belief in the letter of parables or allegorical dogmas to the detriment of the spirit; and tradition and habit combine to make our theologians worship the letter that killeth. A one-sided training warps their judgment. Their notions of God, the sacraments, miracles, inspiration, prayer, Christ's sonship and other religious ideas are as a rule more pagan than they themselves are aware of. The constitutions of most churches are so formulated as to make a belief in the literal meaning of symbols the test of orthodoxy and Christians are urged to set their trust upon myths. For the higher education of the clergy we would propose, therefore, that every theologian should study at least one of the natural sciences or mathematics. It would be the best way, perhaps the only way, to teach them the sternness of truth to dispel their anthropomorphic notions of God" (p. 49).

It is not the purpose of *The Dawn of a New Era* to point out all the deficiencies, not to say vices, of "orthodox" Christianity, much less to set forth the entire programme of its "reconstruction." It

is the aim and object of the Open Court Publishing Company to carry on this dual task—critical and constructive. The little pamphlet is just one out of many stages in the general undertaking. It offers here a short eulogy on the liberal spirit that prevailed at the *World's Parliament of Religions*. There is also a brief article on the *New Orthodoxy* and another somewhat longer on the late Professor Romanes' *Thoughts on Religion*.

The extracts given above will no doubt abundantly suffice for our readers to perceive the *critical* side of the author's design, as a contribution to the general reconstructive work of his company. It is not quite so easy to illustrate the positive side of his purpose. On the whole it may be said that the aim is to make "religion scientific." "Science" and "scientific" are terms ubiquitous in the Open Court publications; and they seem to indicate an ardent love for truth that is quite inspiring. One could wish, however, that this love had kept the author from using the terms so frequently in such connection as to express or imply an opposition on the part of "orthodox" Christians to genuine science.

A writer as scientific as Dr. Carus must be observant and cautious enough to notice that there are very many eminent men who whilst thoroughly "scientific" recognize a goodly number of truths which transcend "science" both in their origin and in their object-sphere. Moreover, so religious a man as our author has surely in his soul the charity and the modesty which should prompt him to suppose that these his eminently scientific brethren do not yield their intellectual assent to such truths blindly and without a thoroughly objective reason. In view of this knowledge on his part of the recognition, by very competent scientists, of a transcendent order of truth, he will not require his readers to agree with him in the following fervid description of the relation of science, in the proper sense of the term, to true religion: "There is no peace of soul for him whose religion has not passed through the furnace of scientific criticism where it is cleansed of all the slag and dross of paganism. If God ever spoke to man, science is the burning bush; and if there is any light by which man can hope to illumine his path so as to make firm his steps, it is the light of science. Let us therefore make religion scientific and science religious. Let us on the one hand imbue religion with the spirit of science, with its rigorous criticism, strict exactness and stern devotion to truth; and on the other hand let us open our eyes to the moral and religious importance of the results of scientific inquiry. Let the light of science illumine both our minds and our sentiments, for science is holy and the light of science is the dwelling place of God" (p. 50). The scientific writer must not be refused the stimulating elixir of rhetoric, and we may

charitably presume that here our author used his privilege too freely.

One is surprised, not to say pained, at finding so sensitively a religious man as Dr. Carus speaking insultingly of St. Paul. He characterizes the Apostle's conception of marriage as "low, not to say vulgar and unchristian" (p. 43). The terms do not reflect any very deep humility nor even charity in our author's religiousness. These deficiencies, however, one may overlook in one so devoted to the scientific elements of religion. But this devotion will hardly excuse him from not having investigated more fully the circumstances which prompted St. Paul to write as he did to the Corinthians. For the rest, if Dr. Carus will read carefully the fifth chapter of the Apostle's letter to the Ephesians, he will find there the purest and most sublime conception of matrimony ever expressed in human language. Dr. Carus should have known and pondered over that conception. He would have found his challenge to "any orthodox clergyman to defend" the Pauline conception quite uncalled for. It is just possible, however, that a mind so absorbed in science as his may not be able fully to appreciate the transcendently spiritual thought of the Apostle in likening the union of man and wife to the mystical alliance of Christ with the Church, especially as such a thought does not lend itself to scientific criticism, the supreme criterion of our author's religion. Still this lack of spiritual insight will not excuse his gross calumny of St. Paul.

We have said enough to make clear the general intention of the Open Court Publishing Company, as set forth by the *New Era*. The second work at the head of this paper is the most recent serious effort at realizing that intention. A glance through the book shows that it is not only based upon, but is permeated through and through with "the doctrine of evolution" on which "the old traditional dogmas will have to be revised and radically remodelled."

The author is most true in his speculation to the sub-title of his book, *Man as an Animal*. The essay begins and ends with this conception. The man-animal is declared to have evolved into a social animal; but sociality marks in the author's view no more than a variation in degree, not in kind, of man's nature. One seeks in vain throughout the book for any justification of this application of the doctrine of evolution to the entirety of man's being. The position is taken *a priori*, and then analogies drawn from comparative anatomy are made to do service for proof. This sweeping of all the higher elements of human nature—intellectual, volitional, social, moral and religious—under the causality of cerebral activity cannot be justified as a legitimately "scientific" procedure. In view of this summary *apriorism* running through the work, one is prepared to

meet with other similarly "scientific" positions, such, for instance as the statements concerning the process of evolution of primitive man from his Anthropoid or Pithecid ancestry. It is a little surprising to read how familiar the author shows himself with this process. His descriptions are so vivid one easily fancies Dr. Topinard to have been actually an eye-witness of the transformation. His narration of the way in which, for instance, the mere gesture-language of the primeval savage passed over into the spoken word is particularly graphic. "It was natural," we are told, "for primitive man, as his gesture-language became more precise, to make an effort to accompany it with sounds in some way connected with what he desired to express. Unconsciously at first and then consciously, he modulated his utterances by his larynx and then progressively articulated them with his mouth. He thus soon attained the power of calling out in moments of danger, of commanding in the management of his household, or in the chase, and even of recounting during the evenings his adventures after the manner of the howling monkeys, but better" (p. 147). This is a fair specimen of the "science" with which the book is filled from cover to cover. Looking through it all one may fairly ask, Is this the kind of "science" on which religion is to be "reconstructed," the old truths of faith "radically remodelled?" In the name of "science" Dr. Carus deprives religion of its supreme object, a personal God, and substitutes the abstraction, or the world-soul, or impersonal force of Monism. Dr. Topinard comes along and takes from man a spiritual and immortal soul and gives him instead a nervous mechanism some degrees more complexly constructed than that of the monkey. Upon these monstrosities "science," aided by phantasy and emotion, is to construct a religion. Even Dr. Topinard is sceptical of the result. Some years ago, he tells us, he was looking about for the scientific basis of ethics, "the principle of justice and the distinction between good and evil, the principle of altruism, and so forth." He had reached the conclusion that they must be accepted without discussion "as dogmas or articles of faith." This conclusion, he says, was "distressing" to him, and he ceased not "to ponder on them." Then he "searched for some property of living beings possessing a nervous system that would give body and objective reality to these dogmas." He reread Herbert Spencer and other writers, amongst whom was Dr. Paul Carus. Then he adds: "The doctrine which Dr. Paul Carus upholds is alluring. Will it convert the masses, which it is our aim to lead into the ways of righteousness? Will it prove sufficient as a sanction of the moral obligation? That is the question." (P. 2.) That indeed is the question, become infinitely more a question in the light, or rather

the darkness of a "science" which leaves for man neither a God nor a soul, in any sense of the terms that can supply a rational basis for a moral life.

Dr. Topinard's book is entitled *Science and Faith*. The latter term occurs several times in the book, on the first and the last two pages. The concluding paragraph of the work deserves quoting as an illustration of the author's conception of science, but especially of faith. He has spoken much of science, he says, and very little of faith. "The reason is that the two mutually exclude each other. Science is knowledge; faith is belief. Science considers things objectively, and accepts only what is demonstrated by observations *perpendæ et numerandæ*, and by generalizations and inductions which go with it, stopping at agnosticism." One cannot help wishing that the author had furnished in his own speculation an illustration of this definition of science; that he had found farther back than his exaggerated theory of *Transformism* that healthy agnosticism "which should acknowledge the unknown when facts abandoned him," and ere he fell into "nebulous hypotheses" where "positive and objective facts" were not forthcoming.

"Faith," he goes on to say, "is subjective, individual and dependent on cerebral sensibility, as the latter has been constituted by heredity, education, habits and temperament of the subject. Orators who, like Père Didon, seek to demonstrate the compatibility of the truths established by science and the beliefs dictated by faith, only shatter the latter: a faith which is examined and shown to be in accord with facts ceases to be faith." The author does not deny "the utility of extolling certain articles of faith;" at least at the present day, and indeed even he himself "is not far from admitting that the four or five principles, especially justice, which society takes for its base and ideal, should be converted into articles of faith" (p. 361). The reason of this admission we saw above is that he has been unable as yet to discover any "property of living beings possessing a nervous system that would give body and objective reality to these dogmas." Thus we see another of the essentials of religion eliminated in the reconstructing process. First a Personal God is rejected and His place given to an impersonal force, an abstraction. Then man is deprived of a spiritual soul and assigned an aggregate of forces and states in a complexly constituted and convoluted brain. Lastly, faith is stripped of its real bases and objects and reduced to subjective fancy and feeling, the resultant of "cerebral sensibility." Truly this is "reconstructing" religion; but is it done on the "broad basis of science?" If the contents of this book and many of the other publications of the Open Court Company be science, may Heaven prevent humanity from trusting either to the

foundations or the superstructure! The "broad basis of science" ought surely be "facts" and principles, objectively verifiable, not of course by sense, but by intellect, the only natural interpreter of sense perception in our possession. Now when we seek for the "facts" of Dr. Topinard's science we find them distorted or colored by an unfounded and unverifiable theory, viz.: that man is a mere animal, even though social; and that man, with his soul and all his intellectual, moral and religious endowments, has been evolved from purely animal ancestry. "What is *certain*," says our author, "is that man by all his characters is descended from some Primate. The brain, the hand and all that relates to his way of standing, with the exception of the foot, are proofs of it." (P. 20.) Now certainty (*certitude*) is based on *evidence*. Where is the evidence for this proposition? The majority of the most cultured intellects of the human race, past and present, has not been able to discover it, though many modern scientists take the proposition as a "working hypothesis." Have Dr. Topinard and his school some specially keen instinct for evidence which has enabled them to discover a ground of certainty in a proposition which the larger number of thoroughly scientific men hold as either untrue or at best hypothetical? Another of the author's *a priori* statements is that concerning *faith*, cited above. Is it a "fact" that faith depends on "cerebral sensibility," etc.? What "broad basis of science" underlies this theory? Surely Dr. Topinard's modesty will not allow him to arrogate to himself a monopoly of knowledge as to the nature, object and genesis of faith. He cannot but know that very many eminently scholarly and "scientific" minds, including if he will Père Didon, find quite a firmly objective sphere and motive of faith apart from "cerebral sensibility," etc.

We might cite, as another illustration of "scientific" accuracy, the author's remark concerning the origin of the doctrine of the Divine Trinity. (P. 237.) But we have said enough to show upon what "scientific basis" the work of "reconstructing religion" is being pushed forward.

We have no space left to treat of the third work on our list—a work in which there is some, though not so much of this kind of reconstructive science exemplified in Dr. Topinard's essay. We might add, by way of conclusion, that there is just enough of such "science" in the Open Court publications to catch the mind of half-educated youth who have had a smattering of some "ologies" and the "science" diluted for the popular literature of the day. Without religious or philosophical training they are unable to detect the poisonous sophistry pervading these works. Swallowing it all, they lose appreciation of supernatural and even supersensible truth.

Their "metaphysical sense" becomes completely atrophied. The story of the consequences of a "scientific religion" in which there is neither a personal God, a spiritual soul, nor genuine faith is written large in the prisons, asylums and death morgues of our cities, in the headlines of our newspapers flashing out the daily record of crime and scandal, and yet more in the diseased bodies and ruined lives of victims unknown to the outside world.

F. P. S.

FRA GIROLAMO SAVONAROLA. A Biographical Study, based on Contemporary Documents.
By Herbert Lucas, of the Society of Jesus. 8vo, pp. xxxii., 474. London : Sands & Co. St. Louis : B. Herder.

Readers of the London *Tablet* will recognize in this volume a series of articles which appeared in that periodical from April to December, 1898. They were universally admired, widely quoted and somewhat sharply criticized. The author's name was not mentioned, but every one admitted that he was well equipped, and that he had access to the best sources of information. Before many numbers of the series had appeared it was evident that he had studied the subject thoroughly, and his fair presentation of the facts, together with his calm, dispassionate conclusions, showed that he was no partisan, and that he desired only the truth. Altogether the *Tablet* series formed the most important addition to Savonarola literature in the fifth centennial year of his death.

This volume, however, is not merely a reprint of the *Tablet* series. The articles have been carefully revised, and more than half the work has been rewritten and very much enlarged.

The author's account of how he came to study the subject is interesting. He received for review a brochure on Savonarola by Dr. Ludwig Pastor, entitled *Zur Beurtheilung Savonarolas*, which was a rejoinder to some critics of his treatment of the Florentine Reformer in the third volume of his *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Renaissance*, and especially to Dr. Paolo Luotto's *Il vero Savonarola e il Savonarola di Lodovico Pastor*.

While preparing himself for this review, Father Lucas learned of the mass of documentary evidence which existed on the subject, scattered through many volumes, and inaccessible to the general English reader. Then the thought came to him that it would be much better to bring this evidence into compendious form, and within the compass of a single volume, than to sit in judgment on two experts. This thought was acted upon, and the result was the excellent series of papers in the *Tablet*, and this still more excellent book.

The writer needed no such apology as is contained in the following words which appear in the preface: "Whatever the judgment to be ultimately passed upon Savonarola may be, it will hardly be questioned that he occupies a position in ecclesiastical history so conspicuous and important as to make it desirable that all, or substantially all, that can be known about him should be placed within the reach of those students of history who have neither the leisure, nor perhaps the opportunity, to ransack a library in quest of the whole truth."

The purpose of the writer is sufficient. "The purpose of this biography is, primarily, to set before the reader the fact of Savonarola's life, and a summary of the documentary evidence bearing thereon; and, secondly, to express with, we trust, becoming moderation and reserve, our own judgment on such points as have given rise to a divergence of views upon his actions, his words, his aims and intentions, and on the actions and motives of those who, in greater or less measure, took part in the conflict which issued in the final catastrophe of his condemnation and death."

An excellent feature of the work, and very rare, is short explanations of the character of many of the works quoted, a full list of which is placed in the beginning.

J. P. T.

THE CATECHISM EXPLAINED. An Exhaustive Exposition of the Christian Religion, with special reference to the present state of society and the spirit of the age. From the original of Rev. Francis Spirago. Edited by Rev. Richard F. Clarke, S. J. 8vo, pp. 720. New York : Benziger Brothers.

English-speaking Catholics, lay and cleric, were never so well supplied with treatises on Christian doctrine as they are at the present time. The Catechism of Perseverance by Gaume in four volumes is an exhaustless storehouse, with a wealth of information and illustration that has never been excelled. For many years it was the only full exposition of Christian doctrine in English. But within the last two years several other excellent works on the same subject have appeared.

The first was an "Exposition of Christian Doctrine" in three volumes, published by McVey, of Philadelphia. The two volumes which have already been published have received a most flattering reception. Then came the "Catechism of Rodez," translated by Father Thein, of Cleveland, and published by Herder, of St. Louis. It had proved its worth in the original by exhausting many editions without lessening the demand, and the translation sprang into favor at once.

Now we have this new treatise, with its simple but suggestive title,

"The Catechism Explained." It is intended for the preacher, the catechist, the teacher and the family. It is really what it claims to be, the catechism explained. But in that explanation lies its excellence. The illustrations, comparisons and quotations from the Scriptures, the fathers and other writers make it very full, very clear and very attractive. At this time especially, when persons outside of the Catholic Church are getting farther and farther away from truth, books of this kind are most welcome. There is no excuse for any one being ignorant of God's truth, but least of all for a Catholic. He has the true Church of Christ to teach him at all times—the Church which the Son of Man established for that very purpose, and to which He gave His own authority. The Church discharges her high office by preaching the Gospel, by placing printed copies of it in the hands of her followers, but most of all by teaching the fundamentals of Christianity to children through the catechism, which is a compendium of all Christian truth.

In books like the one before us, the compendium is enlarged, the upper structure is built on the same foundation and the number of teachers is multiplied. If parents could be induced to get copies of such books and with their assistance explain the catechism to their children, how much more faithfully they would fulfil their obligations to the little ones whom God has committed to them, and how much more successfully they would earn the love and respect of their offspring. The Catholic public in general should show its appreciation of the labors of editors and publishers who make these books by patronizing them.

J. P. T.

DAILY THOUGHTS FOR PRIESTS. By *Very Rev. J. B. Hogan, S. S., D. D.*, President of St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Mass. 12mo., pp. x., 202. Boston : Marlier, Callanan & Co.

This book has been written by a man of piety, learning and experience. This is said not to praise the man, but the book. The combination is so rare in authors, that it is well worthy of note. We have books by pious men, and by learned men, and by men of experience, but books by pious learned men of experience are rare. This is one reason, and a very important one, why we do not profit more by spiritual books. They are good, they are filled with truth, but it is generally abstract, or it is made practical by comparisons and examples that are remote and ancient, and that fail to bring it home to the student.

Every one admits that in order to live a spiritual life a man must feed on spiritual food. He does this by meditation and pious reading. But it is freely conceded that on account of the mode of

life of the majority of priests who do not live in community, anything like regular order is hard to follow. The varying demands that are made on the missionary priest, the constant change of hour for different duties, the ease with which others may intrude themselves on us, and the many distractions of the world about us, make it very difficult indeed for us to follow a strict rule of life, such as we all acknowledge we should follow.

A pious man does not understand our difficulties, and he continues to prepare books of meditation for us that are very good and very long, but that we do not use. The learned man writes to convince us that we must use those books if we wish to be spiritual. But the practical man sees the difficulty and tries to overcome it.

This is what the author of the book before us has done. He does not deny the excellence of meditation in the strictest sense, and no one knows better than he the many good books of meditation that have been written, but he takes into consideration all the circumstances of the occasion, and he provides for those who are prevented from following the best course.

"Daily Thoughts" are short, practical treatises on divine truths which may be taken up at any spare moment in the day and assimilated. Each subject is introduced by a text generally from the words of Christ, and is ushered out by some quotation from the Imitation, the Fathers or some other authorized source. They are so practical and so clearly and concisely put that no effort is required in reading them. Indeed, one cannot get away from them who meets them at all. With this book on his table a priest need never be spiritually hungry.

J. P. T.

SACERDOS RITE INSTITUTUS PIIS EXERCITATIONIBUS MENSTRUÆ RECOLLECTIONIS. Auctore *P. Adulpfo Petit, S. J.* Series Prima, Secunda, Tertia, Quarta et Quinta. 12mo. Typis Societatis Sancti Augustini, Bruges et Insulis.

The meditations contained in these five little volumes were begun in the "Etudes Ecclesiastiques," and they attracted such wide attention that many readers of that periodical asked the author to put them into book form, in order that they might be better preserved and made more easily accessible to a larger number of readers. The request was granted, and the first series was published.

The purpose of the author, as the title indicates, is to provide priests with material for a retreat each month. Hence he chooses subjects which are particularly suitable for the sacerdotal state, and which are not generally found in books of meditation. He treats them very much at length, so that a person may find material for several days' meditation, if he have so much time to devote to his

retreat. He so arranges his matter that it may be used for spiritual reading when several persons are making a retreat together, and he writes always rather with a view to clearness than to brevity.

To each meditation proper he joins another by way of supplement, which is a preparation for death and judgment. The former is more speculative, the latter more practical. Finally, in answer also to the request of readers, he adds a special examen in each instance on the virtues and duties of the priest.

In the beginning the author intended to publish only the first series, but the work was so well received and so widely read that the demand for more was too strong to be refused. Hence the second and following series until the fifth came from the press. The earlier volumes have already run through several editions.

One need not search for the reason of such a demand and such high commendations as have been bestowed on the work. The author has that peculiar keen analytical spiritual insight that fits a man to think for others. It is rare. Most books of meditation impress one as being made up of the meditations of some one else. Such books are not of much real service to their readers. We rarely find a book in which the writer has really prepared *our* meditation for *us*. This is the characteristic of Father Petit's book.

The volumes are so small, so light, so beautifully and clearly printed in easy graceful Latin that they tempt one to use them. As they become better known they will surely be highly appreciated.

J. P. T.

D. DIONYSIUS CARTUSIANUS; ENARRATIO IN CANTICUM CANTICORUM SALOMONIS. Monstrillii, Typis Cartusæ S. M. de Pratis. N. D. des Prés, Montreuil-sur-Mer. France. Pp. 512.

The editors of the new issue of the works of Dionysius the Carthusian are doing wisely in publishing apart from the *Opera Omnia*, individual writings of the great theologian. One of these detached opuscula is presented in the pretty little volume here under notice. A neat little book it is, done up in the excellent manner which makes the newly collected works so attractive. A book for the pocket, a *vade mecum* for the priest or religious whose mind and heart are attuned to the spiritual harmonies that found so apt an instrument in the soul of Dionysius. Only a purified spirit such as his could produce an accompaniment in right accord with the sublimest of canticles. It needs the far-seeing wisdom, the close touch with the Divine, the delicate spiritual sense that comes of abiding life in the unearthly atmosphere of religion, to realize and present to less gifted souls the mystic meaning hidden under the

luxuriant symbolism of the Song of Songs. In his commentary on the Canticles, Dionysius shows to evidence those spiritual endowments that were so singularly his—the blending of intellectual insight into the truths of faith, the accurate technical knowledge of scientific theology and especially the abiding consciousness of the bearing of all religious truth and communication on its first and last end, the union of the rational creature with its Creator. Here learned exegesis and subtle scholasticism are seen in their proper objective relations to a sound unexaggerated mysticism.

If we might venture a suggestion to the Dionysian editors, it would be that they anticipate the publication in the larger form of some of the opuscula that illustrate other sides of the author's mind. Such, for instance, as the *Compendium Philosophiae*, the *De Venustate Mundi* or *De laudibus superlaudabilis Dei*. Students not drawn by Commentaries on the Sacred Text might be stimulated to a taste for these most wholesome works by the reading of the more original, spontaneous outpouring of the great Carthusian's soul.

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF DANTE ALIGHIERI, being an Introduction to the Study of the "Divina Commedia." By the Rev. J. F. Hogan, D. D., Professor, St. Patrick's College Maynooth. 8vo., xii., 352. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

"This work does not and could not profess to be an exhaustive treatment of the life and works of Dante. Composed, as it is in the main, of certain lectures delivered to the students of Maynooth College, it is intended chiefly for those who have neither the time nor the inclination to become specialists in the study of the 'Divina Commedia.'"

The book is intended to be an introduction to Dante. It is pretty generally conceded that such a work is not only useful, but almost essential, for those who use English translations as well as for those who read the original.

The notes that accompany translations are not sufficient to prevent many students from being discouraged and sometimes repelled. It is said that Sir Walter Scott and Cardinal Newman gave up Cary's translation. If this be true, how much more necessary it must be to provide helps for younger readers of less ability.

In the narrative system which the author of this work follows he gives a descriptive account of the contents of each part. His comments, interspersed through the poet's narrative, touch only the salient features of each canto. He has abstained purposely from quoting many opinions and authorities, because such a course was foreign to his purpose.

The book is timely, for the English students of Dante are increasing rapidly, and it ought to help them very much to understand and appreciate this great production which has not been dimmed by time nor forgotten by fickle man.

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES. Translated from the Greek into English Blank Verse. By Milton S. Terry, D. D., LL. D. New edition revised after the text of Rzach. 12mo, pp. 292. New York : Eaton & Mains.

The conspicuous place which the Sybils occupy in the traditions and history of ancient Greece and Rome makes them interesting subjects for every student. The bibliography of them is very extensive and ancient, but their oracles had not been accessible in English dress until Dr. Terry made his first translation in 1890. A translation of the first eight books was published by Sir John Floyer in London in 1713, but it has been out of print for many years. The present edition is intended to supersede the previous translation by the same author, and is based on the Greek text of Aloisius Rzach published at Vienna in 1891. Dr. Terry speaks of the text of Rzach as the best extant, and refers to the book as a product of indefatigable labor that is not likely to be soon superseded.

In the present instance the metre is pentameter instead of hexameter, as in the Greek, because the author thinks that the latter is somewhat foreign to the genius of the English tongue.

The work is very carefully done. A short table of contents is given at the beginning of each book, and also a short sketch of its history or supposed history. There are numerous explanatory footnotes and references to the Christian Fathers who have quoted the text.

In the appendix much additional valuable information appears, and at the end, besides a full bibliography, there is an index of the fathers who quote the Sibyls, with reference to the lines in the text that are quoted. It is a very pretty book, the workmanship being beyond reproach in every particular.

WHAT IS LIBERALISM? Englished and adapted from the Spanish of Dr. Don Felix Sarda y Salvany, by Condé B. Pallen, Ph. D., LL. D. 12mo, pp. 176. St. Louis : B. Herder.

We cannot better make known the purpose and excellence of this book than by quoting from the preface the history of the original :

"In 1886 there appeared in Spain a little work under the title *El Liberalismo es Pecado*: 'Liberalism is a Sin,' by Don Felix Sarda y Salvany, a priest of Barcelona and editor of a journal called *La*

Revista Popular. The book excited considerable commotion. It was vigorously assailed by the Liberals. A Spanish Bishop, of a Liberal turn, instigated an answer to Dr. Sarda's work by another Spanish priest. Both books were sent to Rome praying the Sacred Congregation of the Index to put Dr. Sarda's work under the ban."

The answer was a great surprise. In a letter which the Sacred Congregation wrote on the subject we read:

"The Sacred Congregation has carefully examined both works and decided as follows: In the first, not only is nothing found contrary to sound doctrine, but its author, Dr. Felix Sarda, merits great praise for his exposition and defense of the sound doctrine therein set forth with solidity, order and lucidity and without offense to any one." In regard to the other book, the Sacred Congregation says that in matter it needs corrections, and that its offensive personalities merit rebuke. The author is advised to withdraw it from circulation as far as possible.

Dr. Sarda's work is indeed excellent, and Dr. Pallen has caught the spirit of the Spanish author so well that one mind only is visible in the American book. It is particularly suited to American readers and will do immense good in the hands of young men and women who are most exposed to the danger of which it treats.

CARMEL IN ENGLAND: a History of the English Mission of the Discalced Carmelites, 1615 to 1849. Drawn from documents preserved in the archives of the Order. By Father B. Zimmerman. 12mo., pp. xvi., 379. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Here is an important addition to English Church history which in recent years has received many contributions from able pens. It is the very best way to write history. No one man has the time or ability, nor does any one live long enough to write a complete history of the Church in any country where she has existed as long as in England. But if the members of the different religious communities will gather together the materials which are at hand in the archives of each one, and compile from them the history of the saintly founders and distinguished members who have labored so faithfully for the spread of the Gospel, we shall soon have all the links of the chain ready to be welded together by some master hand. The work before us is one of those links covering that important period of English history comprised between the years 1615 and 1849 and dealing with St. Simon Stock, the founder of the English branch of the order, and with his many saintly followers, it is both interesting and valuable. The work has been compiled from documents preserved in the archives of the order, and it has been very

carefully done. It adds one more chapter to that glorious history of sanctity and heroism which distinguished the Catholic Church in England for so many centuries, and which promises to encourage the wandering children of the faith to return again to the true fold from which they have wandered.

STUDIES IN LITERATURE. Some Words about Chaucer and Other Essays. By Maurice Francis Egan, A. M., LL. D. 12mo., pp. 130. St. Louis: Herder & Co.

The author of these essays tells us that they might be called "Studies for Lectures," and that they are all united with the "Sanctity of Literature" for their keynote, although their titles seem to separate them from one another. Their titles are: "Some Words About Chaucer," "On the Teaching of English," "The Sanctity of Literature," "Some Aspects of an American Essayist," "The Ode Structure of Coventry Patmore," "New Handbooks of Philosophy." Mr. Egan has been identified with literature so long, both as a writer and a teacher, that he needs no introduction to American readers. In recent years he has frequently appeared on the lecture platform, and his merits have been more prominently brought before the public. All that he does bears the stamp of the student and the scholar, and his name is a guarantee of orthodoxy, which is a high recommendation.

THE HOLY BIBLE, translated from the Latin Vulgate. The Old and the New Testament. 8 vo., pp. 1400. Baltimore: Murphy & Co.

This is the best one volume edition of the Bible that we have seen. It is compact and the type is unusually good for a book of the size. For general reading, no one should try to find a one volume edition of the whole Bible, but for reference, when one must have many books at hand in order to work rapidly, this one will be very useful. We have not been making Bibles to be proud of, and we are glad to notice any advancement in that field of book-making which our neighbors have worked so admirably.

SACRA LITURGIA TOM. II. TRACTATUS DE RUBRICIS MISSALIS ROMANI. Opera J. F Van der Stappen. Mechliniae: N. Dessain. Pp. 361.

We called attention in the July number of the *Review* to the first volume of this work on Sacred Liturgy, treating of the Rubrics of the Breviary. The present volume deals with the Rubrics of the

Missal in the same method. The matter is cast into the form of question and answer, thus adapting the work for its didactic use as a text-book in Ecclesiastical Seminaries. Clearness and exactness of style and the mechanical arrangement of the material are excellencies in the same direction.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

GESCHICHTE DES DEUTSCHEN VOLKES VOM DREIZEHNTEN JAHRHUNDERT BIS ZUM AUSGANG DES MITTELALTERS. Von *Emil Michael S. J.* Vol. II. describing the religious and social conditions, education and instruction in Germany during the thirteenth century. Freiburg and St. Louis: Herder: 1899.

EXHORTATIONES DOMESTICÆ VENERABILIS SERVI DEI CARDINALIS ROBERTI BELLARMINI: Bruxellis: 14 Rue des Ursulines, 1899.

THE FRIARS OF THE PHILIPPINES. By *Rev. Ambrose Coleman, O. P.* 12mo., pp. 152. Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Co.

LOYAL BLUE AND ROYAL SCARLET; a story of '76. By *Marion Ames Taggart.* 12mo., pp. 233. New York: Benziger Bros.

PEGGY. By *Laura E. Richards.* Illustrated by Etheldred B. Barry. 12mo., pp. 308. Boston: Dana Estes & Co.

ESSAYS EDUCATIONAL AND HISTORICAL ON SOME IMPORTANT EPISODES. By a Member of the Order of Mercy. 12mo., pp. 408. New York: O'Shea & Co.

CHISEL, PEN AND POIGNARD; or, Benvenuto Cellini. His Times and His Contemporaries. By the author of "The Life of Sir Kenelm Digby." With nineteen illustrations. 8vo., pp. 157. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

THE SAINTS—SAINT AMBROSE. By the *Duc de Broglie*, of the French Academy. Translated by Margaret Maitland, with a Preface by G. Tyrrell, S. J. 12mo., pp. vii., 169. London: Duckworth & Co. New York: Benziger Brothers.

A ROUND TABLE OF THE REPRESENTATIVE FRENCH CATHOLIC NOVELISTS. With Portraits and Selections. 12mo., pp. 315. New York: Benziger Brothers.

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